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THE KADDISH

BY

DAVID DE SOLA POOL

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TO
MY PARENTS
AND MY HONORED TEACHER
DR. M. FRIEDLANDER.

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CORRECTION.

- Page 3, line 1: read 2Chr 205 ff. for 2Chr 295 ff.
 Page 73, line 15: read הרחמן for הרחם.
 Page 62, line 11: read Targum for Tagum.
-

The following presents a literary and historical investigation into the origin, growth and language of the prayer called the Kaddish (קַדִּישׁ). It has been found necessary to take note of the eschatological views prevailing at the times of its composition, to determine with exactness the technical meaning and full connotation of many words, and their inner connection one with another. In this way alone can the original significance and real import of the words and sentences be effectively determined. For this purpose, parallels have been drawn mainly from the contemporary Rabbinic literature, the New Testament and apocalyptic works.

The ritualistic aspect of the prayer as found in the Codes of laws and Minhagim is here noticed only where application to different occasions through meanings later read into the words, and a living tradition of their pronunciation and of the construction of the sentences bear upon the interpretation of the text. For the rest, the most important liturgical facts connected with the prayer are collected briefly in an appendix (C, P. 107).

The numerous parallels adduced from the Targum, are designed not alone to confirm the identity of language and thought of the Kaddish with those of the Targumim, but also to help towards establishing the exact meaning of many of the terms, thus at the same time often adding something towards an appreciation of the spirit and terminology of the Targumim.

To guard against misconception, it should be premised that the term Messianic is, unless otherwise stated, used in the following pages not in the narrow sense of the days of the wars and reign of the Messiah as distinct from the following resurrection, last judgment and kingdom of God, but generally for the glorious future as opposed to the present and past.

I have to express a debt of deep gratitude to Dr. Gaster for kindly placing at my disposal a number of his unique manuscripts and rare texts.

I venture to believe that this investigation has cast new light upon several Old Testament questions such as the schematic construction of many of its later prayers; the composite linguistic character and several features of the style of the Book of Daniel, and many points in connection with the Psalms such as their doxologies, liturgical recitation and parallelism.

I hope too that it may contribute towards a fuller appreciation of the New Testament, by showing from a fresh point of view its Jewish background and framework, the Jewish coloring of much of its most characteristic phraseology, and especially by a consideration of the form and origin of the Paternoster, the twin sister of the Kaddish.

In conclusion, I trust that this essay will commend itself to others beside the philologist and the student of the Bible, by adding a new chapter to the obscure subject of prayers for the dead, and by opening up a neglected province in the domain of the earliest Jewish liturgy.

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The principal abbreviations employed are:

A. Z. Aboda Zara.
 B. Babylonian (Talmud).
 b. ben.

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TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

The full texts of the Kaddish with the variations in reading are given at the head of each section. But for the sake of convenience in reference, the oldest version as far as it is known to us from Amram's text is here appended:

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא בעלמא דברא כרעותה וימלך מלכותה בחייוכון
וביומיכון ובחיי דכל בית ישראל בעגלא ובזמן קריב אמן. יהא שמה רבא מברך
לעלם ולעלמי עלמאי יתברך אמן. וישתבח ויתפאר ויתרם ויתנשא ויתהדר
ויתעלה ויתקלס שמה דקדשא בריך הוא לעלא מכל ברכתא שירתא תשבחתא
ונחמתא דאמירן בעלמא ואמרו אמן.
תתקבל צלותהון ובעותהון דכל ישראל קדם אבותון דבשמיא ואמרו אמן.
יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא וחיים [ושבע וישועה ונחמה והצלה לכל] (על כל)
ישראל ואמרו אמן.

עושה שלום במרומיו הוא יעשה שלום על כל ישראל.
יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא בעלמא דהוא עתיד לחדתא ולאחאה מיתא ולמבני
קרתא דירושלם ולשכללא היכלא ולמעקר פלחנא נוכראה מארעה ולאחבא פלחנא
קדישא דשמיא לאתרנא וימלך קודשא בריך הוא מלכותה ויקרה בחייוכון וביומיכון
ובחיי דכל בית ישראל בעגלא ובזמן קריב אמן.

See further pp. 89 and 97 for two paragraphs not occurring in Amram.

The following translation¹ includes the most important features of all the texts:

(P. 26.) May He, according to His Will, reveal in the world which He has created, the greatness and holiness of His Great Name, and His sovereignty [make His redemption spring forth, cause His Messiah to approach and redeem His people (and build up His temple)] in your lifetime and in your days and in the lifetime of the whole house of Israel, speedily and at a near time (and say ye) Amen.

(P. 43.) Be His Great Name praised for ever and for all eternity.

(P. 54.) The Name of the Holy One, praised be He, be blessed, praised, honored, magnified, exalted, glorified, extolled and lauded

¹ The translation aims at expressing as exactly as possible the meaning of each word and of the construction. The disastrous effects on the English style must therefore be condoned.

far above all blessings, hymns, praises and glorifying consolations that can be uttered in the world (and say ye) Amen.

(P. 65.) May the prayer and supplication of the whole (house) of Israel be accepted by the(ir) Father who is in heaven (and say ye) Amen.

(P. 69.) May abundant peace from Heaven [with life, plenty salvation, comfort, liberation, health, redemption, forgiveness and expiation, enlargement and deliverance] be for us and for all Israel (and say ye) Amen.

(P. 75.) May He who maketh peace in His high places (in His mercy) make peace subsist upon us and upon all Israel (and say ye) Amen.

(P. 79.) May there be revealed the greatness and holiness of His great Name in the world that He will renew, and in which he will quicken the dead (and raise them up to life eternal) [and save the living], rebuild the city of Jerusalem, build up the (holy) temple (in the midst thereof), uproot false worship from (His land) (the earth), and restore the holy worship of (His Name) (the true God) to its place [(in) (to) its beauty and splendor and glory], and may (the Holy One, praised be) He reveal his sovereignty (and glory), and cause His redemption to spring forth, and hasten (the consummation of the kingdom of) His Messiah (and redeem His people) in your lifetime and in your days and in the lifetime of the whole house of Israel (now) speedily and at a near time (and say ye) Amen.

(P. 89.) Unto Israel and the Rabbis, their disciples and (all) the pupils of their disciples, (and all) who engage in the study of the (holy) law in this and in every other place, may there be (abundant peace) grace, favor and mercy [long life and (bounteous) sustenance] [(both) to them (and to [us] [you])] from the Lord of heaven and earth (and say ye) Amen.

(P. 97.) May the sword, famine, pestilence and evil diseases be withheld (and may He remove them) from us (and from you) and (all) His people (of the house of) Israel (and say ye) Amen.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

There is no evidence of a fixed ritual in the Old Testament. Private prayers occur in it in abundance and there are also many references to public prayer, even to their having become conventional rote by the 8th cent.¹ But it was not until the destruction of the Temple 586 B. C. and the consequent cessation of the sacrificial services that the first great impetus to the development of the synagogue and its liturgy was given. The synagōgue probably arose in the Babylonian exile, called into being as a substitute for the Temple worship in Jerusalem. After the return from exile and more especially under Ezra's influence, public prayer meetings became a regular institution, and synagogues soon sprang up in all Jewish settlements.

Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Jewish liturgy to the Men of the Great Synod אנשי כנסת הגדולה תקנו להם ברכות ותפלות (Ber. 33a); and the numerous prayers in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles and Daniel, besides the probability that the foundations of the chief blessings (ברכות) e. g. those of the Shema' (שמע),² and prayers (תפלות) e. g. the Shemone 'Esre (שמונה עשרה)³ go back to pre-Maccabean times, would support this tradition.

¹ Isa 29 13. Cf. ib. 1 15 58 5.

² The Shema', named from its opening verse Deut 6 4, is composed of the paragraphs Deut 6 4—9 11 13—21 Num 15 37—41. See SCHÜRER, *GJV.* 2 537 f. Dr. I. ELBOGEN, *JQR.* XIX 1907 p. 229 et seq.

³ The 18 benedictions. Text: GASTER 30 et seq. BAER 87 et seq. Roman 15b et seq. etc. DALM., *WJ.* 299—304 gives both Palestinian and Babylonian versions. Translated by SCHÜRER, *GJV.* 2 538 ff. See Dr. I. ELBOGEN, *Geschichte des Achtzehngebetes*, *MGWJ.* 46 pp. 330—357 427—439 513—530.

The discovery of a fixed scheme of construction of the opening of prayers in the Biblical books just mentioned certainly points to a stereotyped form at the time of the Men of the Great Synod. On comparing the prayers in these books with the LXX prayer of Mordecai (Est 4 17), of Manasseh, of Tobias and the intimately related Shemone 'Esre, the following scheme becomes clear. In full it is as follows:

[(1) Historical introduction].

(2) The address to God, usually as God of the fathers,⁴

(3) An ascription of might (נְבוֹרָה) to Him,⁵

(4) The Lord of heaven (and earth),⁶

(5) The King of kings.⁷

(6) The personal prayer, sometimes introduced by a further ascription to God of the particular quality or virtue prayed for and a general praise. For instance, on comparing Daniel 2 20—23a, 1 Chr 29 10—13 and 2 Chr 20 5—7 the variations of form within the scheme are amply accounted for by the difference in character between Daniel's supplication for wisdom, David's thanks for bounty and Jehoshaphat's prayer for strength (hence 3 is displaced in it).

C. 2 Chr 20 5ff.	B. Dan 2 19—23	A. 1 Chr 29 10—13
ויעמד יהושפט . . . ויאמר	ארין דניאל ברך לאלה	(1) ויברך דויד את ה' לעיני כל הקהל ויאמר דוד
ה' אלהי אבותינו	שמיא ענה דניאל ואמר להוא שמה די אלהא מברך מן עלמא ועד עלמא	(2) ברוך אתה ה' אלהי ישראל אבינו מעולם ועד עולם
[ויברך כח ונְבוֹרָה ואין עמד להתיצב]	די חכמתא ונְבוֹרָתא די לה היא	(3) לך ה' הגדלה והנְבוֹרָה והתפארת והנְצַח וההוד
הלל אתה הוא אלהים בשמים	והוא מהשנא עדניא וזמניא	(4) כי כל בשמים ובארץ
ואתה מושל בכל ממלכות הגוים	מהעדה מלכין ומהקים מלכין	(5) לך ה' הממלכה

⁴ 1 K 8 23 1 Chr 29 10 2 Chr 6 14 20 6 Neh 9 5 15. Prayer of Manasseh. Tobit 8 5. Cf. 1 Kgs 18 36.

⁵ 1 K 8 23 1 Chr 29 11a 2 Chr 6 14 20 6 Dan 2 20c 9 4 Neh 1 5. Prayer of Mordecai 2, of Manasseh. Cf. Jer 32 17.

⁶ 1 K 8 23 1 Chr 29 11b 2 Chr 6 14 20 6 Neh 1 5 9 6 [Dan 2 21a]. Prayer of Mordecai 3, of Manasseh, of Tobias. Cf. Jer 32 17 2 K 19 15.

⁷ 1 Chr 29 11c 2 Chr 20 6 Dan 2 21b. Prayer of Mordecai 4. Cf. 2 K 19 15.

C. 2 Chr 29 5ff.	B. Dan 2 19—23	A. 1 Chr 29 10—13
הלֹא אֹתָהּ ותוֹשִׁיעַ	יִהְיֶה חֲכֵמָתָא . . . שְׂרָא	(6) וְהִמְתַּנְשָׂא . . . לְכֹל (Cf. C 5 and 3)
	לֶךְ אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָי מִחוּדָא	וְעֵתָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מוֹדִים
	וּמִשְׁבַּח אֵנָּה	אֵנָּה לֶךְ וּמִהֲלִילִים
		לְשֵׁם תַּפְאֶרְתְּךָ
וְעֵתָה הִנֵּה	וּכְעַן הוֹדַעְתִּי	וְכִי מִי אֲנִי . . .

In the Prayer of Mordecai (2) is missing. Shorter, but of similar character are the other prayers. For example:

1 K 8 23 = 2 Chr 6 14	Neh 1 5	Dan 9 4
וַיֹּאמֶר	וּמִתְפַּלֵּל לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם	(1) וְאֶתְפַּלֵּל לְה' אֱלֹהֵי
	וַיֹּאמֶר	וְאֶתוֹרָה וְאֶמְרָה
ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	אֲנֵא ה' (4) אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם	(2) אֲנֵא אֲדָנִי
אֵין כְּמוֹךְ אֱלֹהִים	הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא	(3) הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא
בְּשָׁמַיִם מִמַּעַל וְעַל הָאָרֶץ	See (2)	(4)
מִתַּחַת		
שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֲסֵד לְעַבְדֶּיךָ	שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֲסֵד לְאֶהֱבֵינוּ	(6) שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֲסֵד
הַהֹלְכִים לִפְנֶיךָ בְּכָל לְבָבָם.	וּלְשִׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו.	לְאֶהֱבֵינוּ וּלְשִׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו.
... וְעֵתָה... שֹׁמֵר לְעַבְדְּךָ ...	תְּהִי נָא אֲזַנְךָ . . .	חַמְּאֵנוּ . . .

Of the Shemone 'Esre, in all probability founded by the Men of the Great Synod, and finally edited under Rabban Gamliel II, we have as original elements of the scheme, perhaps in part expanded:

- (2) בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב
- (3) הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַנּוֹבֵר וְהַנּוֹרָא^s . . . [ואֵין כְּמוֹךְ חֹזֶק] . . . אַתָּה גִבּוֹר לְעוֹלָם ה' . . . מִי כְמוֹךְ בַּעַל גִּבּוֹרוֹת . . .
- (4) אֵל עֲלִיוֹן [קוֹנֵה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ] (Pal. Gen 14 19 22)
- (5) וְקוֹנֵה הַכֹּל מֶלֶךְ

In general the first three blessings of the Shemone 'Esre are called אבות (= 2), גבורות (= 3, 4, 5) and קדושות (= 6).⁹

We see here forms of blessing and prayer becoming fixed and traditional after the return from the Exile.

^s Ber 33b₁₂ Meg 25a₂₁ Yoma 69b₁₆ J. Ber 91 12d₃₁. Sifre 343 p. 142b Midr. Ps 19 2 p. 163. Deut 10 17 Neh 9 32.

⁹ R.H. 45 ELBOGEN, MGWJ. 46 pp. 515—519.

A fresh impetus to the development of the synagogue and its liturgy was the strong feeling and stirring activity of the Maccabean revival and the growth of the different parties in the state. The creation of the modern synagogue¹⁰ with its rich ritual was effected by the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the Jewish state by Titus, and by the diaspora. The second Temple had had its sacrificial services and its worship, the service being of a very simple character, consisting mostly of Psalms¹¹ and other Biblical passages.¹² But the Temple had strongly influenced the synagogue service. Tradition has it that prayers were instituted corresponding with the continual offerings **תפלות כנגד תמידים תקנום** Ber 26 b 14. This connection is also indicated by the turning towards the Temple in prayer;¹³ so that when the Temple was destroyed, the synagogue service (**עבודה** Aboth 1 2) entirely replaced and usurped the importance of the Temple worship and its sacrificial services: **נדולה תפלה יותר** **גדולה תפלה יותר** **מן הקרבנות** Ber 32 b 7. The times of prayer were the times of sacrifice.¹⁴ The Targum very commonly paraphrases expressions of sacrifice by those of prayer.

In these circumstances, Cant 5 2 was homiletically explained **אני ישנה** I am sleeping—from sacrifice, **ולבי ער** but my heart is awake—for prayer. Again, I am sleeping—from the Temple, but my heart is awake—for the synagogues and study houses: **לבתי כנסיית ובתי מדרשות** (Cant. Rab ib. p. 30 a). For inseparably bound up with the service of the synagogue had always been the service of the study

¹⁰ Biblical are **מועדי אל** Ps 74 8 cf. Aquila, **בית תפלה** Isa 56 7 LXX 60 7. Cf. Acts 16 13 16 Pesh. **bēth selūthā**. With **בית מועד** Job 30 23 compare Aboth 1 4 **בית ועד**. The usual later designation is **הכנסת**, (**בית**), **כנישתא**, in Amos 5 12 15 the Targum translation of **שער** **כנישתא** in the Targum is the equivalent of **עדה**, in the Greek **ἐκκλησία**. **כְּנִסְיָה** makes its plural **כְּנִסְיָהוּ** as if from **כְּנִסְיָה**. Cf. Aboth 4 11 **כְּנִסְיָה**. In Gitt 39 b 11 is a mixed form **תפלה**. The popular designation (**בית הקע** Jer 39 8) is condemned by R. Simon b. Eleazar (2nd cent.).

¹¹ Ps 92 1 and the similar LXX titles to Ps 24 29 48 93 94 and Vulgate to 81. Hallel 113—118. Mishna Tamid 7 4 Mass. Soferim 18 1—3. The Psalm was known as **פַּרְק** BACHER, *ETT* 154 *ETA* 163 f.

¹² The priestly blessing Num 6 22—27 Lev 5 5 16 21 Deut 26 3 ff. 13 ff. Mishna Tamid 5 1.

¹³ Dan 6 11 1 Kgs 8 38 42 44 48 = 2 Chr 6 29 32 34 38 Ber 4 5. III Esdras 4 58. Perhaps also Ps 5 8 28 2 134 2.

¹⁴ Dan 9 21 Ezr 9 5 Ps 141 2 Acts 3 1 10 2—4 9 30 Koran 30 16 f.

house or lecture room **בית המדרש**, **בית מדרשא**, **בית מדרש**.¹⁵ J. Meg 3 1, 73 d ³², J. Keth 13 1, 35 c ¹⁵ tell that attached to every one of the 480 synagogues in Jerusalem were two schools **בית ספר למקרא ובית תלמוד** one for Bible study and one for the traditional lore. The public reading and explanation of the Torah on Sabbaths and Festivals was to Philo¹⁶, Josephus¹⁷, the Apostle James¹⁸ and the Rabbis¹⁹ so primitive an institution that its origin is ascribed to Moses; and its reading on the two market days, Monday and Thursday, when the villagers collected in the towns, and on Sabbath afternoons, a time of general leisure, is ascribed to Ezra.²⁰ The book of Deuteronomy read in the 7th year (Deut 31 10—13) is a connected address of the lawgiver (ZUNZ *G. V.* 3). Jer 17 19—27 is a Sabbath sermon. In Jer 36 4—13 Jeremiah dictates to Baruch an exhortation to the people to be delivered on the coming fast, in the house of the Lord (**בית ה'**). 2 K 4 23, Isa 1 12 ff., 66 23 imply special gatherings for prayer and instruction from the Prophet on New Moons and Sabbaths. In many passages in Nehemiah²¹ we hear of gatherings in which the people were instructed in the Law. The reading of a portion from the Torah (**פָּרָשָׁה**, **פָּרָשָׁתָא**)²² soon became the central part of the synagogue service, and the highest importance was attached to its study and exposition in the **בית המדרש**.²³ Shema'ya and Abtalyon, heads of the Sanhedrin 60—35 B. C. are called **דרשנים**—interpreters, expositors, preachers (Pes 70 b ¹³).²⁴ In Hillel's

¹⁵ **בית מדרש** occurs in Sirach 51 23. For **בית מדרשא** sometimes occurs **מדרשא** alone, LEVY *TWB.* II 12b. The public lecture of general instruction was called **פָּרָשָׁה** BACHER, *ETA.* 164.

¹⁶ De Opificio Mundi. De Septennario 6.

¹⁷ Contra Ap. 2 18 and Antiq. 16 2 4.

¹⁸ Acts 15 21.

¹⁹ J. Meg. 4 1 75a ¹⁹ BK. 82a ¹⁸ Soferim 10 1 p. 143 f. Yalkut I 408 to יקהל beginning. Mech. בשלח 18b.

²⁰ J. Meg. 4 1 75a ²¹ BK. 82a ⁹ 17 Soferim 10 2.

²¹ Neh 8 1—9 13 ff. 18 13 1—3 9 3.

²² The **פָּרָשָׁה** or **פָּרָה** is the regular weekly section. The **פָּרָשָׁה**, pl. **פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת**, **פָּרָשָׁתָא** is the weekly section or more generally any section. But see BACHER, *ETT.* 130 f. 160 ff., *ETA.* 133 ff. 169 f.

²³ Compare the application of Prov 28 9 in Shab 10a ¹⁷ and Philo's opinion quoted by SCHÜR., *GJV.* 2 527. On the meaning of **דרש** see LEVY, *NHWB.*, SCHÜR., *GJV.* 2 392, BACHER, *ETT.* 25 f. *ETA.* 41 f.

²⁴ Ben Zoma was also a famous **דרשן**; so much so, that it was said of him (*Sota* 9 15) **משקת במלו הדרשנים**. Further BACHER, *ETT.* 27.

time, this public exposition—*מדרש* was usual everywhere²⁵ and the Acts of the Apostles shows us a like custom in Ephesus, Athens, Damascus, Corinth etc.²⁶ In fact everywhere throughout the diaspora the custom of studying the law and the prophets and expounding them on Sabbaths and Festivals was the same. *ילכו מחיל אל חיל* (Ps 84 8) 'they go from strength to strength' is applied to those who go from the synagogue to the study house²⁷ to hear the *הלכה*²⁸ legal study, or the *הגדה*,²⁹ homiletic, didactic teaching freely developed from a Scriptural text.

These Aggadic discourses were held regularly on Sabbaths³⁰ and Festivals and often every morning.³¹ When a selection from the Prophets was read, the Aggada usually started from it³² and seized upon its Messianic features for elaboration. The Targumim are witness how a Messianic coloring was given to the text on every possible opportunity. In times of unparalleled hardship, best exemplified by the Hadrianic persecutions, the people turned to the Aggada for hope and consolation. Even Halachic study usually closed with hopeful Aggada³³; and the principle of closing with auspicious words,—*א דבר טוב* (J. Meg 3 8, 74b₂₅) plays an important rôle even in the minutely prosaic Masora, where the division of the paragraphs often seems to be influenced by it, just

²⁵ Matth 4 23 = 9 35 13 54 Mark 1 21 39 62 Luke 4 15 et seq. 32 44 66 13 10 John 6 59 18 20.

²⁶ Acts 13 14 f. 49 9 20 14 1 13 5 18 19 26 4 19 8 17 17 10 1—3 1 Cor 14 27 f.

²⁷ Targ. ib. Ber 9 end 64a MK. 3 end 29a.

²⁸ See BACHER, *ETT.* 42 *ETA.* 53 ff.

²⁹ BACHER, *JQR.* IV 406—429. *ETT.* 33 ff., *ETA.* 44. The form "Aggada" used in this essay, does not actually occur, *אגדה* being the regular Aramaic term. The form 'Aggada' is used to distinguish it from Haggada in the specialized meaning "the service of the Passover eve."

³⁰ Acts 13 14 27 42 44 J. Sota 14 16d₃₁ R. MEIR lectured *כל לילי שבא*.

³¹ Kol Bo § 14 *שחרית מנהג קדמונינו לדרוש בכל שחרית*. The fragmentary remains of the Targum paraphrase in the prayer *וְנִבֵּן לְעֵינַי* point in the same direction.

³² Luke 4 16 et seq. Acts 13 14—16 27 and in the early Church the sermon regularly followed the Bible reading. G. KLEIN in the *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* . . VII, 1906 traces the whole of the Paternoster back to Ezek 36 23—31. Compare the construction of the *Pesikta Midrashim*.

³³ Mishna Ber., Peah, Yoma, Sota, Macc., Eduy., Menach., Hull., Tamid. MK. 3 9 and Taan 4 8 are hopeful Messianic seals to tractates dealing with sinister subjects.

as the repetition of the penultimate verses of Isaiah, Malachi, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes is due to the same influence (Sofferim 12 2 p. 161).

The discourse (מדרש, דרשא), divided into (1) פתיקה or פתחה, פתחא, פתח (introduction)³⁴, (2) דרשא the exposition itself and (3) אפסרתא³⁵ the resumé and conclusion, especially in the אפסרתא, was characterised by words of comfort from the Messianic promise, somewhat similarly to the prayer that followed the sermon in the early church. This conclusion, in nature related to the blessing following the reading of the Torah (Meg 4 2) or its study (Ber 11 b₂₆), being usually a Messianic praise or prayer of more or less fixed form, served at the same time as a sign of the close of the address. In Levit. Rab. for instance, 25 out of the 37 chapters end with a Messianic passage and 3 with a prayer (ZUNZ, *G. V.* 191/2). The name אפסרתא, הפסרה, as "missa", means the dismissal formula,³⁶ and particular homilists (תקם, זקן, דורש, דרושא, דרשן)³⁷ seem to have had formulae which in the course of time became crystallized into fixed forms: e. g. the Meturgeman of R. Yudan always closed his words with the same prayer: יהי רצון . . . שחתן בלבנו לעשות תשובה . . . ר' יודן בי (J. Ber 4 2, 7d₁₆). רבי ישמעאל קבע ליה לאמוריה³⁸ דיימר בתר פרשתא כן

³⁴ The regular phrase for beginning a homiletic discourse or address is ר' ברבוי or רבויי פתח. This פתח with an understood object such as פתח ואמר or פלוגי פתח (Ps 119 130) was later sometimes replaced by פתח פיי. BACHER, *ETT.* 162f. *ETA.* 174 ff.

³⁵ BACHER, *ETA.* 15 denies that אפסרתא bears this meaning. According to him אפסרתא is a whole parting address. The early Tannaitic term for closing a discourse is תחת, the conclusion being called the תוקם. The later term found in the Babylonian Talmud is סים. BACHER, *ETT.* 65, *ETA.* 69 137 f. תתום is the concluding formula in prayer. השלים is also used of closing a Midrashic address BACHER, *ETA.* 58, LEVY, *NHWB.* gives סייקא, BB. 22a in the sense of the close of a lecture.

³⁶ 2 Chr 23 8. Compare the common use of מפטר for parting, —, כי הוּו מפטרי מ— Ber 17a₆₃ Taan 5b₇ Yoma 71a₉ Ber 64a₁₆ Exod 18 27 J.L. Further LEVY, *NHWB.* ZUNZ, *G. V.* 367/9. Ber 4 2 gives a prayer of R. Nehunya b. ha Kana on leaving the בית המדרש.

³⁷ דרשן BACHER, *ETT.* 27, דורש ib. 28, דרושא *ETA.* 43 where it is pointed out that דרושא occurs as plural of דרוש, and the plural דרשא occurs in this meaning, pointing to a sing. דרש.

³⁸ אמורא a synonym of מתורגמנא (מתורגמן). Babyl. or תורגמנא Palest. Rashi on Yoma 20b, Pes 50b₁₂ Hag 14a₁₆ Meg 23b₁ 24a₄ MK. 21a₁₇ Keth 8b₁₆ Sota 37b₂₅

One such doxology that came into regular use is the first paragraph of the Kaddish with the response of the congregation, forming the original Kaddish, the Kaddish proper (ZUNZ, *G. V.* 372/85).

The Kaddish is in origin a closing doxology to an Aggadic discourse, as is clear from the following passages:

(A) ³⁹ עלמא אמאי קא מקיים? אקדושא דסידרא ואיהא שמיא רבא דאגדתא. Raba (320—375) asks "Upon what does the world rest? On the קדושא דסידרא and the response "ש"י" of the Aggada", i. e. on the Torah study of the תלמידי חכמים, the learned in the law, and the Aggadic instruction of the people (HERZFELD, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* 2 206).

(B) ⁴⁰ A heavenly echo (בת קול) cries out from a ruin to R. Jose b. Halaftha (2nd cent.) in comfort for the Hadrianic persecution בשעה שישראל עושין רצונו של מקום ונכנסין לבתי כנסיות ולבתי מדרשות ועונין יהא שמיא רבא מברך הקדוש ברוך הוא מנענע ראשו ואמר . . . אשרי ישר"מ. "When Israel perform the will of Heaven by gathering in the synagogues and study houses and respond ישר"מ, the Holy One, blessed be He, shakes His head and says . . . 'Happy is the King to Whom such praises are offered in His house.'"

(C) ⁴¹ According to R. Ishmael, God is truly glorified in his world בשעה שישראל נאספין בבתי מדרשות ושומעין אנדה מפי חבם ואחר כך עונין אמן יהא שמיא רבא מברך. "When Israel assemble in the

Kid 31b₇ Hul 142a₂ Sanh 7b²¹. On the forms (for תרג' and מתר') BARTH, *NB.* § 190d, note 2, p. 310. BACHER (*Die älteste Terminologie der jüd. Schriftauslegung*) *ETT.* p. 206 note 2.

³⁹ Sota 49a₂₆. The קדושה—Isa 63 Ezek 312 Exod 1518 = Ps 14610 of the סידרא, study house, lecture room, is embodied in the prayer יבא לציין connected with the study at the end of the service. The occurrence of Exod 1518 instead of Ps 14610 points to the time before the existence of a Targum to the Psalms that could be drawn upon as official and generally recognised.

⁴⁰ Ber 3a₅ the text according to Dikduke Soferim. All the old texts read the pure Aramaic form יהא שמיא רבא מברך, Amram the full response including יתברך. But Abudarham found the Hebrew text in old and correct copies (נומחאות). The mixed reading of the editions הגדול מבורך יהא שמיא dates from Solomon Luria (1534—72). Shibbole ha-Lekeṭ (ed. BUBER) quotes יהא שמו הגדול מבורך. Samuel Edels (1555—1631) corrects the reading of the editions to יהא שמו הגדול מבורך. יהא שמו הגדול מבורך is often used in Hebrew texts.

⁴¹ Midr. Prov. to 1428 ed. BUBER p. 75. Yalkut II to Prov. ib. 951. Cf. Yalk. I 408 beg. ויקהל. Amram I 12b.

study houses to hear the Aggada from a preacher and respond afterwards **אִישׁר"מ** "Amen."

(D) ⁴² שבשעה שהוקן יושב ודורש ועונין אחריו **אמן יהי שמו הגדול מבורך** (D) ⁴² "When the preacher expounds God's word and they respond after him **אִישׁר"מ**, even though punishment decrees of a hundred years should be standing against him, the Holy One, blessed be He, forgives him all his sins."

(E) ⁴³ וכיון שמגיע לאגרא (read as Yalkut שמיים ההנדה) עומד זרובבל (E) ⁴³ "And when he closes his Aggadic address, Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel stands up and says . . . **אִישׁר"מ** to which they all answer Amen."

(F) ⁴⁴ אומר דוד אגדה לפני הקב"ה ועונין אחריו הצדיקים **אמן יהא שמיא** (F) ⁴⁴ "David holds an Aggadic discourse before the Holy One, blessed be He, and the righteous respond to it out of the garden of Eden with **אִישׁר"מ**, and the transgressors of Israel answer Amen from Gehinnom."

(G) ⁴⁵ כשהוא גומר : (ריש גלותא) At the election of the Exilarch (G) ⁴⁵ [דרוש] מתחיל בבעיא ואומר ברם צריך את למילף. ועומד זקן אחד חכם ורגיל ומשיב כענין ויושב ועומד התון ואומר קדיש (F) ⁴⁴ "When he has completed his discourse . . . , . . . the Hazan stands and recites the Kaddish."

Collectively these passages leave no doubt that the Kaddish was a closing doxology to an Aggadic address, the final expression in prayer of the Messianic hope pictured by the preacher's words. A comparison of it with the language of Messianic passages in the Targum to the Prophets e. g. Mal 1 11 readily shows its unity in language and sentiment with the exposition that it sealed; and its intimate relationship with the formula closing the reading and Targum of the Haftarah ⁴⁶ **על דא יתברך ויתפאר שמיא די אלהא רבא**

⁴² Midr. Eccl. to 9 14 f. p. 25c.

⁴³ Alphabet of R. Akiba 1st recension JELL., BH. III 27. Yalkut. II 428 to Isa 26 2 in the name of Resh Lakish (3rd cent.).

⁴⁴ Pseudo TBEZ. 20 end = Pirke de R. Eleazar 2. JELL., BH. V 46. Amram I 13b.

⁴⁵ Sefer ha-Yuhasin 123c of Abraham b. Samuel Zacuto 1504 describing the election of the Exilarch in Gaonic times.

⁴⁶ Roman rite p. 107b 115b etc. Maḥzor Vitry, Romanian rite, LAGARDE, Proph. Chald. p. 493, Rite of Fez, Genizah fragments etc. ZUNZ, Lit. Gesch. 79.

מלכנו וקרישא לעלם ולעלמי עלמא and with other closing prayers e. g. מלכנו אלהינו (Amram 9a), gives support from internal evidence to this identification of the Kaddish with the closing prayer of Aggadic lectures. The name קדיש, too, apparently means the holy part, the doxology as contrasted with the less sacred character of the preceding Aggada [Appendix A Page 100].

The Kaddish is still used in one form as a closing prayer. But it has also become, by a curious development, a mourner's prayer [Appendix B Page 101], and in its character of a liturgical doxology, a synagogue prayer with responses, recited at the close of different sections of the service [Appendix C Page 107].

Written prayer manuals began to supersede the older system of recitation by heart probably by the 7th century; and in the chief of these early written records of the liturgy, Massecheth Soferim, the Kaddish already holds an assured place in the synagogue service.

In the middle ages in Spain, and to some extent in France under Spanish influence, the great religious poets such as Yehuda ha-Levi, Abraham ibn Ezra, Isaac Giat embellished the Kaddish with sublime poetical introductions⁴⁷; whereas the Cabbalists glorified it by weaving around it a vast web of mystic lore, and by searching out deep import even in the number of letters or words in the response or in the seven praises.⁴⁸ It has also been parodied.⁴⁹

Thus the Kaddish has become in itself the three pillars upon which the world stands (Aboth 1 2): התורה as the doxology of the study house, העבודה as an integral part of the synagogue service and נמילות הסרים as the mourner's prayer for the dead.

THE LANGUAGE AND DATE OF THE KADDISH.

The original paragraph of the Kaddish and its response are composed in Aramaic. The following words, however, from יתברך to ויתהלל are Hebrew. The paragraph יהא שלמא in its present form

⁴⁷ ZUNZ, *Ritus* and *Lit. Gesch.* passim. Nachtrag 13 56 60. Kohut in *MGWJ*. 1893 XXXVIII 443 prints a poem from the מדרש הגדול that shows many influences from the Kaddish.

⁴⁸ E. g. in the commentary of the printed Yemenite prayer book תכלאל Jerusalem 1894. Peri Ez Hayyim of VITAL הקרישים.

⁴⁹ Dr. DAVIDSON, Parody in *Jewish Literature* pp. 147. 197. 199.

is a composite of Aramaic and Hebrew, and the closing verse עושה שלום is entirely Hebrew.

It is only natural that the doxology to a discourse held in the vernacular, should be also in the vernacular. In the lecture room, and synagogue as a lecture room, Aramaic largely held sway. In Greek, Latin or Persian speaking Jewish colonies, these local vernaculars naturally were used.¹ But with these languages we are not here concerned, as the Jews speaking them played little or no part in the development of Jewish tradition and synagogue institutions. The vernacular in question is Aramaic. Roughly speaking, during the millenium between the period of Ezra and the spread of Arabic through the conquests of Islam, it was the mother tongue of the Jews of Palestine, Syria and Babylon, who constituted not only the vast majority of Jewry, but that part which handed on and developed the traditions of Jewish learning and study.

Neglecting all other considerations, the linguistic character of the older Midrashim bears witness to this use of Aramaic in the lecture house. In the oldest Midrashim, Genesis Rabba, Leviticus Rabba, Lamentations Rabba, Canticles Rabba and the Pesiktas, the proportion of Aramaic to Hebrew is very large. It is very considerable also in Ruth Rabba, Esther Rabba, Ecclesiastes Rabba and Midrash Psalms. Many of the later Midrashim are to some extent Hebrew recensions of an earlier Aramaic text. Hence it is easily intelligible that the Kaddish as a doxology to a Midrashic address is in Aramaic. The tradition possessed by the Talmud glossators (Tosafists) of the 12th and 13th centuries noted by them on the passage B (Page 8 Ber 3a), rightly explains the language of the Kaddish in accordance with this fact.

In the synagogue the vernacular was also in use for the translation and study of the Torah. The section of the law and of the prophets that was read was translated or paraphrased, giving rise to the Aramaic תרגום, which in the time of the Mishna² was an

¹ Acts 14:1 17:12 18:4 1 Cor 1:23. SCHÜR., *GJV.* III 93ff. L. BLAU, *Zur Einleitung in die heilige Schrift.—Jahresbericht d. Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest* 1894, p. 84 et seq. esp. pp. 87f. 97.

² Meg. 4:4 6:9 10 T. Meg. 4:20 f. 31—41 227:5 ff. On the form תרגום BARTH, *NB.* § 188c p. 302, BACHER, *ETT.* 204ff., *ETA.* 242ff., Assyrian ragāmu call, shout,

old and firmly settled institution. The final redaction of the Targumim³ is only the crystallization in writing of a late stage of a tradition that goes back many centuries earlier. For the origin of the custom of translating the Bible readings into the vernacular must be sought in the early times of the second Temple. In fact it may be assumed to have arisen as soon as the necessity arose for it.⁴ The record of the dying words of Jesus, (Mark 15 34) Ἑλωὶ ἑλωὶ λευὰ σαβαχθανεί indicate that the Bible was most familiar and came most readily to him in its Aramaic garb. In the synagogues at the beginning of the Christian era the use of a Targum was everywhere in vogue.⁵ The necessity for this translation into the vernacular was the more urgent since in addition to the בּוֹר or בּוֹרִי (ιδιώτης)⁶ women and children formed a large part of the congregation. In some cases the Targum was added especially in their interest.⁷

Much of the old Aramaic of the Synagogue liturgy naturally grew up around the Aramaic paraphrase;⁸ but in the domain of pure liturgy Aramaic prayers are by no means uncommon, even

cry. But see DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Lex.* 713 (from רִנָּה) and MUSS-ARNOLT, *Assyr. Engl.-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* p. 1191 f.

³ Onkelos 3rd cent. Jonathan to the Prophets 4th cent. Pseudo Jonathan to the Pentateuch (J I, J II, J III) 7th—8th cent.

⁴ Even though שְׁבִיב Neh 8 s is not a certain reference to the Targum as Rab 219—257 CE. (Meg 3a 21 Ned 37b 14 J, Meg 41 74d 29 Gen Rab 36 end) explains it, the antiquity of the custom of interrupting with a Targum is beyond all dispute.

⁵ In Luke 4 16 et seq. no mention is made of a translation. But we need not assume the existence of an Aramaic roll from which the original reading was made as does ARNOLD MEYER, *Jesu Muttersprache* 57f. The translation added to the verses read may be passed over as not needing special mention. Or the omission may be an inaccuracy in the account as given by the gentile Luke, who, be it noted, cites the verses in the form they take in the LXX. The authenticity of the whole passage is strongly attacked on internal and external grounds by KEIM, *Geschichte Jesu* II 18—22.

⁶ Acts 4 13 ἀνθρώποι ἀγράμματοί, καὶ ἰδιῶται; Pesh. ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ.

⁷ Exod 38 s Deut 31 12 I Sam 1 12 II K 4 23 Isa 3 16 32 9 Neh 8 3 Acts 16 13 Mass. Soferim 18 4. For other cases of women attending at the Beth ha-Midrash J. Sota 14 16d 31 = Lev. Rab 9 p. 18d. AZ. 38a 1 Sota 22a 14. In Meg 23a s the question is raised whether women are allowed to read from the Torah in synagogue. Compare T. Meg 4 11 226 4 Yalkut I 871.

⁸ E. g. in the Mahzor Vitry 158—173. ZUNZ, *Lit. Gesch.* 74—80.

when we leave out of consideration later compositions such as בריך שמיא taken from the Zohar to ויקהל, and the poetical pieces for special days excerpted from the Targum and Midrash.⁹

For when Arabic became the vernacular, Aramaic became a second holy tongue, so much religious literature being composed in it. It is to some extent regarded as such at the present day, and among the Jews of Yemen the employment of the Targum is a living institution. Their prayer book, also, contains a larger proportion of Aramaic than is found in other rituals.

When Arabic was the vernacular, Arabic prayers were included in the liturgy, e. g. in Seadya's Siddur. In the same way we have many old and originally Aramaic pieces in the prayer book. In the service of the priests of the second Temple, Aramaic was probably used, as Prof. Büchler has shown.¹⁰ So too, in the later synagogue, in matters affecting the congregation [e. g. יקום פורקן (Page 90) the annulling of certain vows כל גדרי¹¹], or the individual (e. g. תשתלח אסותא,¹² מתי ומתי¹³ אנהנא etc.) and of course in private prayer (e. g. the blessing of the shepherd Benjamin¹⁴ בריך מריה¹⁵ אֱלֹהֵי מַרְיָא Mark 14 36), the vernacular was largely in use, especially in the old Babylonian rite.¹⁵ The oldest supplicatory prayers—סליחות—are to a large extent Aramaic.¹⁶ Hence it is not surprising to find that synagogue additions to the Kaddish—תקבל and תתכלי—were made in Aramaic.

For the most part, and by preference however, the synagogue service was made up of Hebrew prayers, as Hebrew the לשון הקדש,

⁹ Zunz, *Lit. Gesch.* 21f.

¹⁰ Prof. ADOLF BÜCHLER, *Die Priester und Cultus* p. 60—67 and the criticism of S. KRAUSS, *JQR.* VIII 670.

¹¹ Mahzor Vitry. p. 172 388 etc.

¹² Amr. I 52b. In the rite of Cochin p. 22b it is included in an elaboration of the Kaddish as follows: תשתלח אסותא רפואה דחי ודרחמי מן קדם קודשא בריך הוא לאסאה יתכון. ולרחקא עליכון ולכל מאן דצריך לאסותא דישאל ויפסי מן קדמוהי לחיים ולשלום יתין שמעין טובין על מקדשא ועל תיקלא ועל אתרא This is followed by ולרפואה ואמרו אמן: קדישא ועל מלכות משיח בן דוד בעגלא ובזמן קריב וא"א.

¹³ Amram II 21b.

¹⁴ Ber 40b 22.

¹⁵ Zunz, *Lit. Gesch.* 18f. *Nachtrag* 1.

¹⁶ E. g. the litany רחמנא Amram II 19b 20a, מרן רבשמיא Amram II 21a, ib. 21a. דעני ל—. ענין

לשון¹⁸ naturally took precedence over Aramaic, the לשון קודשא¹⁷ לשון הדיוט, הול¹⁹ the language of the ἰδιώτης, the unlearned. The permission given by the early authorities, recorded in the Mishna²⁰, ברכת המזון תפלה קריאת שמע בכל לשון the grace after food, the Shemone 'Esre or the Shema' may be said in any language, did not always find favor. A certain R. Levi wished to prevent the reading of the Shema' in Greek in Caesarea,²¹ and R. Yohanan (d. 279 C. E.) is of opinion that he who prays in Aramaic must dispense with the favoring help of the angels who do not understand Aramaic.²² This idea that the angels do not understand Aramaic was generally taken up and applied in various ways during the middle ages to account for the Kaddish being in Aramaic²³ when the origin of the prayer and the cause of its being in the vernacular had become obscured. But the truer reason was not altogether forgotten, and permission was given to say the Kaddish in the language best understood if Aramaic was not understood.²⁴

To be accurate, a distinction must be drawn between the vernacular and the language of the Kaddish. The vernacular, the Jewish Aramaic spoken by the people, preserved in the Talmuds and Midrashim in conversations, anecdotes, proverbs and popular parlance generally, whether Babylonian or Palestinian, is very different from the language of the Kaddish. The Kaddish, as the doxology to an Aggadic address, partakes linguistically of the peculiarities of the language used by the homilist. As the preacher's words were woven around Biblical verses, he spoke the לשון הכמים, the hebraizing language of a translation, an artificial, learned language, characterised by Hebraic phrases and constructions as much as is Aquila's Greek. Cleomedes mocks at the bad Greek spoken in the synagogues.²⁵ The

¹⁷ Sota 7 2 4 Ber 40b²⁶ Shab 40b¹¹. לשון קודשא Gen 11 1 J I 31 11 J II לשון קודשא Gen 31 47 J I, 45 12 J I 35 18 J II. ¹⁸ Ber. ib. Shab. ib.

¹⁹ B. M. 104a²¹ etc. of Hillel, R. Jehuda, R. Meir and R. Joshua b. Korḥa היה דורש לשון הדיוט etc. it is related

²⁰ Sota 7 1. Cf. Meg. 2 1 Sofer 18 4.

²¹ J. Sota 7 1 21b¹⁵.

²² Sota 33a Shab 12b¹² R. Yohanan however warns against disparaging Aramaic J. Sota 7 2 21c⁹.

²³ Mahzor Vitry p. 54f. quoted by the Tosafoth (Scholiasts) to Ber 3a. Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim § 56. Orchoth Ḥayyim, ha Manhig, Abudarham, Rashi etc. etc.

²⁴ שאלות ותשובות דבר שמואל 321.

²⁵ SCHÜRER, *GJV.* III 95 note 18.

Aramaic of the synagogues was of the same nature, and it is in this hebraizing, literary, jargon Aramaic of the Targumim that the Kaddish is composed. It is as far removed from the popular Babylonian Jewish Aramaic as is the school language of Onkelos and of the Targum to the Prophets; and it is as unlike the North Palestinian (Galilean) popular language preserved in the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim as is the mixed Aramaic of the Jerusalem Targum. In Kid. 70a₉ the distinction is drawn between דאמרי רבנן and דאמרי אינשי²⁶ *The Kaddish is composed in the school language of the Targum.* It is in grammar and vocabulary colorless enough to have been used harmoniously both in the East (Onkelos) and in the West (Jerusalem Targum); it is however more nearly akin to the language of the Targum to the Prophets (= Onkelos) than to any other dialect; and every word and phrase in it can be abundantly paralleled in the Babylonian Targumim.

As Christian Aramaic was influenced by Greek, Jewish Aramaic, even in the 5th century B. C.²⁷, was influenced by Hebrew, and none more so than that of the Targum. The Kaddish, however, owing to the accident of its form, presents no occasion for the occurrence of hebraizing constructions characteristic of the Targum²⁸, and shows its hebraizing character only in its vocabulary. In this, it, like the passages of the Aggada, varies between Aramaic and Hebrew.

This fragmentary interchange of languages is far from being of isolated occurrence in the oldest Jewish liturgical prayers. According to one authority, the high priest on the Day of Atonement prayed . . . לא יעדִי עבִיר שׁולֵמֵן מִדְּבִית יְהוּדָה וְלֹא יִהְיֶה עִמָּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל צְרִיכִין לִפְרֻנְסָה²⁹. In the ancient profession of faith following the recital of the Shema' there is a heaping of paired synonyms for the sake of emphasis, the synonyms being in three cases hebraizing and aramaizing

²⁶ A distinction is drawn between לשון בני אדם and לשון (ה)תורה in Jer. Erub 3 1 20d ²⁷ Jer. Ned 6 1 39c ²⁸ Jer. Shebu 7 1 37c 25, and between לשון תורה and לשון חכמים AZ. 58b ¹⁴ Hul 137b ¹¹.

²⁷ SAYCE-COWLEY, *Egyptian Papyri* p. 20, NÖLDEKE, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XX ('07) p. 137.

²⁸ Enumerated DALMAN, *WJ.* 66.

²⁹ Yoma 53b 21. The Aramaic is the Onkelos Targum to Gen 49 10. Compare the sayings in לשון הדיוט BM. 104a.

Wortschatzes ist in seinen Sprachformen und Redensarten hebraisiertes Aramäisch". Even in the carefully chosen language of the Palestinian פיוטים, the synagogue poetry from c. 650 C. E. onward, organically developed from this Neo-Hebrew, there is a wealth of hebraized Aramaic.³⁷ But this combination took place only between the intimately related Hebrew and Aramaic. The large Greek vocabulary of the Midrash was felt to be foreign, and is practically non-existent in the Piut.³⁸ *This phenomenon of the interchangeable use of the two languages, minimises the difficulty of the composite linguistic character of the books of Daniel and Ezra, by analogy from an era little subsequent to the date when these two books received their final form.* It should be noted that the book of Daniel is an unity. No artificial, makeshift theory, whether it be that of the Aramaic being for the people, the Hebrew for the learned; or that the "Chaldeans" should speak "Chaldee"; or that the Aramaic is translated from a Hebrew original, or the Hebrew from an Aramaic original; or that the text is composite by an accident of its history, or any other hypothesis, succeeds in explaining the absolutely abrupt change in 2 4, for which no satisfactory reason can be given, on the one hand, and the inclusion of chapter 7 in Aramaic on the other. The analogies here given make the simplest explanation probable, namely that *the composite character is original.*³⁹

Genizah fragments of the Kaddish show interchanges between Aramaic and Hebrew other than in the traditional text, and Solomon b. Adereth (13th cent.) refers to partial translations into Hebrew. In the fragment published by S. Schechter⁴⁰ the text is, as usual, Aramaic

mente zu einer Einheit verschmolzen waren." Dr. ELBOGEN, *JQR.* XIX 1907, p. 246 finds it impossible to account for the juxtaposition of אמת ויציב. In view of the above it hardly requires explanation.

³⁷ Lists in ZUNZ *Synag. Poesie*, Beilage 5, p. 372. Cf. Ibn Ezra's commentary to Eccl 5 1 the second head of the indictment.

³⁸ Of course this does not apply to words which were thoroughly naturalised as פיוט, סימן, פירוש.

³⁹ This suggestion originally put forward by REUSCH, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*⁴ 1870 p. 118 has since been practically lost sight of in the mass of complicated theories brought forward in the last thirty years. Jer 10 11 is difficult to account for. Later examples STEINSCHNEIDER *JQR* XVI 382.

⁴⁰ GDK. Hebrew part p. 53.

up to משיחיה. Then follows in Hebrew ראש⁴¹ הכהן ובחיי רבנו שלום צדוק השלישי ישיבת נאון יעקב ובחיי רבינו שלמה הכהן אב הישיבה ובחיי רבנו צדוק השלישי בתבורה בחייכון וביומיכון ובחיי כל ישראל במהרה ובזמן קריב יתברך ויתהלל שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים ברוך הוא למעלה ולמעלה מכל הברכות השירות התשבחות שמה דקדשא בריך הוא למעלה והנחמות האמורות בעולם כרצונו ואמרו אמן (כרצונו) ending the paragraph in Hebrew (omitting הברכות).⁴²

In a second Genizah fragment⁴³, there is also a Hebrew honorific insertion (ויצמח פורקניה) בחיי נשיאנו ראש הגולה ובחיי ראש הישיבה ובחיי כל כל (!) ישראל (ובחייכון כל, בעגלה may also be intended for Hebrew—note בעגלה ובזמן קריב for דכל, דכרוב for דכרוב as in the former fragment. So too of the honorific insertions⁴⁴ בחיי דרבנא משה בר מיימון ובחיי or⁴⁵ דכל the latter is in Hebrew.

It will be noticed that in nearly every case, the transition of language between word and word is facilitated by a proper name or some other word or words common to both Aramaic and Hebrew כל בית ישראל, הוא, ובחיי etc., and between phrase and phrase it is generally effected after a pause.

The question arises whether the Kaddish ever existed in a completely Hebrew form. In Massecheth Soferim⁴⁶ a prayer said while the roll of the Torah is taken from the Ark is given as follows: על הכל יתגדל ויתקדש וישתבח ויתפאר ויתרומם ויתנשא ויתעלה ויתהדר ויתהלל הנכבד והנורא שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא בעולמות שברא העולם הזה והעולם הבא כרצונו וכרצון כל יראיו וכרצון כל עמו בית ישראל תגלה ותראה מלכותו עלינו במהרה ובזמן קריב והוא יבנה ביתו בימינו ויחון פליטתנו ופליטת עמו ישראל בהמון רחמיו וכרוב חסדיו בשלום בתן ובחסד וברחמים המקום הוא יעשה עמנו בעבור שמו הגדול ואמרו אמן. This

⁴¹ Head of the Jews of Egypt in the second half of the 11th cent. See D. KAUFMANN, *Jahrbuch für jüd. Gesch. u. Literat.* Berlin 1898 p. 149f.

⁴² Brit. Mus. Or. 5866 a 14th cent. MS. GASTER, *Isach Hassan* MS. Laur, II 16. *Ṭur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 56. ⁴³ GDK. Hebrew part p. 54.

⁴⁴ *Sefer ha Yuḥasin* ed. FILIPOWSKI p. 219.

⁴⁵ *Ib.* at the election of the Exilarch.

⁴⁶ *Sof.* 14¹² text according to MÜLLER p. 196.

is clearly an expanded Hebrew version of a formula similar to the Kaddish, in style later than the more simple and direct language of the Kaddish. Note for instance the Midrashic expansion of העולמות into העולם הזה והעולם הבא. The occurrence of the Hebrew form of the response יהי שמו הגדול מבורך לעולם ולעולמי עולמים in Midr. Eccl. Rabba p. 25c to 9 14f. (D) and 23 times in Eliahu Rabba and Zutṭa, cannot be urged as a proof of the existence of the Kaddish in a Hebrew version. M. Friedmann⁴⁷, however, concludes from this that the Kaddish was originally in Hebrew and was only later translated into Aramaic. But this judgment is based upon the early date (3rd cent.) to which he assigns this Midrash against the views of all other authorities e. g. RAPOPORT (*Nathan b. Jehiel*), ZUNZ G. V. 112/119, GRAETZ, DERENBOURG, GÜDEMANN, BACHER etc. who assign it to 968—984 C. E. (about 974). This date on the other hand is probably far too late, it being perhaps that of the copyist, and the compilation of the Midrash should perhaps be assigned to the 5th or 6th century. Moreover both in Midr. Eccl. and in T. B. E. R. and Z., this Hebrew version of the response occurs in a Hebrew text, and is therefore naturally in Hebrew in harmony with the rest of the text. We shall see later that in T. B. E. R. and Z. it is not correctly described as the response to the Kaddish, and also that the formula was used equally in Aramaic and Hebrew. Furthermore the occurrence of the Aramaic form in Hebrew texts,⁴⁸ would support just the opposite assumption of the originality of the Aramaic text as the Kaddish response. The old traditional name of the prayer קריש would also point to an Aramaic original (Appendix A Page 100). Furthermore, if a literal Hebrew equivalent of the Kaddish did ever exist, and we know of no complete one, the probability would be that it, like the version given above from Soferim 14 12, was a younger rendering of the Aramaic version of the old Aggada doxology. For in most cases where a prayer or formula exists both

⁴⁷ Introduction to TBER. and Z p. 78ff. Cf. HAMBURGER, *Real-Encyclopädie* II 605.

⁴⁸ Ber 3a₅ (B, p. 8) Shab 119b²⁶ (K, p. 43) Midr. Prov 14 23 (C, p. 8) Se'udath Gan 'Eden (F, p. 9). In the first two cases Abudarham quotes the text as Hebrew. The objection is always possible that in these cases the form of the response has been adapted to later custom.

in Hebrew and Aramaic, we may assume the Hebrew version to be the less original. The formula . . כל נדרי is probably older than the formula . . כל נדרים,⁴⁹ as the tendency was always towards excluding the use of the vernacular from the service and replacing it by the more sacred tongue. Solomon Adereth does not disapprove of the partial translations into Hebrew made of the Kaddish in his day. As the sermon doxology, the Kaddish was naturally in Aramaic. But in the liturgy the tendency would be to translate the Kaddish, the "holy praise" par excellence into Hebrew in accordance with the principle that the holy language may be used for treating of ordinary subjects, but must be used for holy matters: דברים של חול מותר לאומן בלשון קדש, של קדש אסור לאומן בלשון חול.⁵⁰

Thus we may well assume the Aramaic of the Kaddish to be original. The explanation given by Zedekiah b. Abraham (13th cent.) in the Shibbole Haleket that it was translated from an original Hebrew text during a time of persecution to disguise the forbidden praise from the persecutors, and afterwards retained in Aramaic, is probably only an etiological explanation. But there may be the echo of the persecutions in the Byzantine Empire under the Emperor Justinian in the 6th century behind it. In 553 C. E. in his Novella 146 περί Ἑβραίων, following the example of Hadrian, he forbade the recital of the Shema' and the Trisagion and κενοφωνίαι (nonsense) and ἄλογοι ἐρμηνεῖαι (senseless expositions), definitely prohibiting all Aggadic preaching τὴν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενην δευτέρωσιν ἀπαγορεύομεν παντελῶς.⁵¹ This prohibition would extend naturally to the Kaddish, the doxology of the Aggada.

Is the Kaddish Babylonian or Palestinian? It is usually assumed to be Babylonian. To answer this question more correctly we must endeavor to ascertain the date of its origin.

⁴⁹ The Tur Orah Hayyim 619 quotes the Aramaic formula for the first words as known to R. Natronai Gaon 710 CE, and half Aramaic and half Hebrew as known to Seadya Gaon d. 942. Cf. Maḥzor Vitry. Amram I 47a, Seadya and the Roman Rite use the Hebrew form. Zunz, *Ritus* 96.

⁵⁰ Shab 40b 10 Abaye 320—375 CE.

⁵¹ GRAETZ, *Geschichte der Juden* V pp. 20 360. Phrases like ברוך המקדש שמך בריבים in the Jewish prayer book are usually taken as implying some such persecution.

It is first referred to under the name of קריש and definitely quoted in Massecheth Soferim. But as this work also knows later expansions of it—the קריש לחרתא and על הכל (p. 18), it certainly goes back to far earlier times. The Talmudic and Midrashic references⁵² to the response יהא שמיא רבא מברך which need not imply the existence of the Kaddish at all, do nevertheless, as is invariably assumed, probably refer to this prayer (p. 50). The comparative silence of the Talmud about the Kaddish is explained by the fact that in early times it was not made the subject of Halacha as were the Shema' and Shemone 'Esre.⁵³ The absence of all reference to Jerusalem and the destroyed Temple, (contrast the later לחרתא), its simple eschatology, plain, unmythical language, straightforward form, agreement in wording and its anonymity, all point to an early date. The first two considerations would seem to set it before 72 C. E., and the fact that its wording, except for one or two minor additions in some cases, agrees exactly in all rites, would support an early date. And in fact, the Paternoster implies that a Kaddish-like prayer was in existence at the period of the rise of Christianity [Appendix D. Page 111]. Hence we may conclude that the Kaddish of the Aggada is based directly on an old formula that goes back into pre-Christian times.⁵⁴

Of the two versions of the Paternoster, Luke 11 1 preserves a better tradition of the historical occasion than Matthew 6 5. One of the disciples asked Jesus to teach them to pray even as John taught his disciples. John the Baptist, if not a regular Essene, at least belonged to the same ascetic school as the Essenes, and frequent prayers, in part replacing sacrifices, especially prayers for the advent of the Kingdom of Heaven, and praises and sanctifications such as the Trisagion developed among the later mystics, were as characteristic of him and his disciples⁵⁵ as of the regular order of

⁵² Ber 3a 4 (B, p. 8) 21b 21 (H, p. 43) 57a 5 (I, p. 43) Shabb 119b 26 (K, ib.) Succa 39a 2 (L, p. 50) Sot'a 49a 26 (A, p. 8). Midr. Pr. to 14 28 etc. (C, p. 8). Midr. Eccl 9 14 f. p. 25c (D, p. 9.). Alphabet of R. Akiba etc. (E, ib.) TBEZ. 20 (F, ib.).

⁵³ It is not mentioned in Meg. 4 3 as requiring ten persons present for its recitation for this reason. It belonged at that period entirely to the Aggada.

⁵⁴ So I. SCHWAB *Year Book of American Rabbis* 1905, but on quite other grounds. The response יהא שמיא רבא מברך, as we shall see, is of far higher antiquity, it going back to Biblical usage in direct tradition. ⁵⁵ Luke 5 33 11 1.

the Essenes. Jesus was certainly not an Essene,⁵⁶ in fact he taught some strongly anti-Essene doctrines. But the early connection of Jesus with John; the many Essenic influences in his life and teaching, such as voluntary poverty, discountenancing marriage, the neglect of provision for earthly food and drink, the importance attached to lustrations, communistic meals and manner of life, healing the sick,⁵⁷ the gift of prophecy, aversion to taking an oath, the prominence given to eschatological ideas and speculation; and the comparison with John's prayers in the disciple's question, all point to the fact that *the prayer with which he answered is ultimately to be traced back to Essenic circles.*

HARNACK,⁵⁸ through a brilliant combination of the form of the prayer in Luke with Acts 19 2—6, comes to the conclusion that the prayer for the Holy Ghost, found according to some of the oldest MSS., Gregory of Nyssa (4th cent.), Marcion (c. 140) etc. in the version of Luke instead of the prayer for the Kingdom, was inserted expressly to differentiate the Paternoster from the prayer of the disciples of John: "Durch die Bitte um den heiligen Geist soll sich das Vater-Unser von dem Gebet der Johannesjünger unterscheiden" (l. c. p. 206). In proving this he rejects the historicity of the occasion of the giving of the prayer as recorded in Luke, but gives us in its stead a far more certain Johanno-Essenic origin for the New Testament version of the prayer. It is true however that he understands the Paternoster as consisting originally of only the word "Father" and the 4th, 5th and 6th phrases, while the 1st, 2nd and 3rd phrases in Matthew's version which are parallel with the opening words of the Kaddish, he regards as in all probability not original (p. 202f.), but, like all the prayers of the earliest Church, borrowed from the traditional Jewish liturgy,⁵⁹ and added

⁵⁶ As GRAETZ supposes l. c. III 276f. 699 et seq. 284 et seq.

⁵⁷ Essene from אֵסֶנָּה? But see E. MITTWOCH, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XVII (1903) p. 76ff. who rejects also the suggestion of GRAETZ אֵסֶנָּה 'the Baptists', and the ancient identification with אֵסֶנָּה 'seers'.

⁵⁸ AD. HARNACK, *Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vaterunsers. Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie (Philos.-histor. Klasse)*. Berlin, 21 Jan. 1904 p. 204. Also printed separately.

⁵⁹ ZUNZ, *G.V.* 384 et seq. on the high antiquity of the groundwork of the synagogue prayer book.

to the short prayer in very early times, perhaps as early as the times of the Apostles (p. 205). Even when assuming the correctness of this supposition, a pre-Christian date is assured for the origin of the Kaddish, and this traditional Jewish prayer may nevertheless have an Essenic origin. For we shall see later that there are probable traces of Essenic thought and mysticism in the amplification of the prayer to its later form. The institution of repeating the Kedusha (p. 8, note 39) is unmistakeably Essenic,⁶⁰ and KAUFMANN KOHLER⁶¹ ventures to derive all the early Jewish prayers, including the Kaddish and Paternoster, from Hassidean or Essenic circles in a direct chain of tradition. Similarly HEIDENHEIM⁶² supposes the old Hebrew prayers of the Samaritan liturgy to be of Essenic origin. So too, it may be more correct to say that the early Church derived its prayers from the Essenes,⁶³ than, as is always stated, from the Pharisaic synagogue. In the course of time, one part of the Essenes attached themselves to the new religion, the other became absorbed in Pharisaic Judaism. *To the former we would owe the Paternoster. to the latter the Kaddish.*⁶⁴

We have therefore to qualify the statement that the Kaddish is Babylonian. In origin it is Palestinian. Its application as a doxology to the Midrash may also be Palestinian,⁶⁵ as the home of the Targum and Midrash was Palestine (Judea). In the course of

⁶⁰ Massecheth Soferim ed. MÜLLER p. 228.

⁶¹ MGWJ XXXVII (1893) pp. 489—495 497. JQR. VII 1895 604—6.

⁶² *Die Samarit. Liturgie.* Heft 1. p. XXXII.

⁶³ MAX FRIEDLÄNDER, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christentums.* Vienna 1894 esp. Ch. 4 for the connection of Essenism and early Christianity.

⁶⁴ Comparison with early Church liturgies reveals so many general parallels with the Kaddish in its praises, responses, prayer for the teachers and the teaching and for peace, and in its general phraseology, that they are of very little value. The simple expressions of prayer and praise, when scattered, are common property, and it is impossible to see in them direct borrowing from either side [see for example FERD. PROBST, *Liturgie der 3 ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte; Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts.* J. E. FIELD, *The Apostolic liturgy* etc.]. Samaritan formularies show no traces of the Kaddish in the late form in which we possess them. The same is true too of Mandaic literature. See for instance ZDMG. LXI 1907 358 note 1, 360 note 1.

⁶⁵ Aaron ha Cohen of Lunel (fl. 1300) dates the prayer from the Mishnaic period.

time, with the transference of the centre of Jewish life from Palestine to Babylonia, the Kaddish also was carried over, as was the Targum. And as the (Onk.) Targum there received its distinctive literary form, so too did the Kaddish and all the paragraphs later added to it.⁶⁶ Together with most of the surviving prayers of the Jewish liturgy it has been handed down to us through the Babylonian schools. No ritual appears to preserve for us a purely Palestinian version; as even those lands that stood under the influence of Palestine in their ritual, preserve only the Babylonian form that held sway since the early middle ages. Even the version of Maimonides (and Yemen) is probably more Spanish-Babylonian than Egyptian-Palestinian.

In the following pages the texts are separated according to various rituals.⁶⁷ For the first two paragraphs this has its absolute value, as, except for the quite insignificant variant *ימלוך* and *וימלוך* in the Yemen ritual, every ritual is uniform within its own confines. The paragraph *לחדתא* also appears in a settled form in each local class. But for the paragraphs *עושה שלום*, *יהא שלמא*, and *על ישראל* there is little consistency among the MSS. belonging to the same ritual, especially in those of Yemen, where each text presents variations from every other. In other rituals, Spanish, German, Roman etc., the variation is slighter and the printed editions have fixed the text more definitely. It is not always practicable therefore to take note of all the variants in the numerous texts collated, and peculiarities of orthography and vocalisation have been regarded only when strongly attested or when indicating real difference of reading.

The orthography and sublinear punctuation found in the manuscripts is chaotic, every scribe (*סופר*) or punctuator (*נקדן*) going his own way and making a law for himself. The printed texts are but little better. They show no unity of system and are strongly hebraized. Some "errors" that recur constantly in manuscripts of

⁶⁶ DALMAN, therefore (Grammar p. 26) comes to the right conclusion that the Kaddish is a Babylonian prayer of Palestinian origin, although the reference to Sifre 132b on which he bases this result has nothing to do with the case. See p. 49 note 39.

⁶⁷ For the endless varieties of ritual see Zunz, *Ritus*. In brief *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Art. *Maḥzor*.

a particular rite, clearly point to a local difference in pronunciation. The value given to the signs at different times and places varied; the use of the divers signs is not constant and the grammatical forms also vary with the locality and period. It is therefore impossible for any one scheme of vocalisation to represent completely the many shades of pronunciation intimated by the diverging methods of pointing in the manuscripts.

The superlinear vocalisation, although in many ways defective, is far more selfconsistent and rests on an old and comparatively unvarying tradition of the pronunciation of Aramaic that reaches down to the present day.⁶⁸ For the Jews of Yemen still use the Targum in the synagogue service, and the Kaddish in view of its origin must have the same vocalisation as the Targum. Therefore BAER's emended punctuation on the basis of the Masoretic text of Biblical Aramaic, is, as Buxtorf's punctuation of the Targum on the same system, entirely at fault in principle.

I have therefore based the vocalisation in the following pages on the superlinear system. Very numerous inaccuracies and many variants have crept into the texts through the combined use of *matres lectionis* and vowel points. Among the inaccuracies arising from this cause is to be reckoned the lengthening of short vowels such as *מָאן* for *מֶן*, *לְעִלָּא* for *לְעֵלָא*, probably the use of Šureq for Qibbuš in *פּוֹרְקִנְיָה*, *קִידְשָׁא*, *תּוֹשְׁבַחְתָּא*, *פּוֹלְחָנָא* and *נִזְכָּרָאָה* etc., although the use of Šureq for *u* is almost regular enough to justify itself. The use of Vav as a vowel letter in Aramaic inscriptions is more frequently found in the later than in the earlier inscriptions. As variants due to *matres lectionis* may probably be reckoned *רוּחָא* and *רוּיָחָא* next to *סִייעָתָא*, *וּיְמִלִּךְ* beside *וּיְמִלֵּךְ*, the almost invariable pointing *וּיְמִלִּךְ* for *וּיְמַלֵּךְ*, as also the occasional *וּיְקָרִיב* for *וּיְקָרֵב*; probably also the relative *דִּי* for *דֵּי*, affixed being later read as a separate word.

In punctuated texts, forms like *עֲלִמְיָא*, *שְׁמַיָּא*, *אֲוִרְיָתָא* etc. that often occur in the manuscripts are inadmissible, as are also *לְעִלָּא* etc. The suffix of the 3rd person masc. sing. must be,

⁶⁸ ADOLF NEUBAUER. JQR. III 604—622 esp. p. 605 on the old tradition of the Jews of Yemen.

choice language⁴, and the language of prayer in particular was minutely weighed. The Kaddish, agreeing with all norms of prayer composition, is also worded with studious care. A characteristic of its oldest parts and **תתקבל** and **יתגדל** is the synonymous doubling of expressions e. g. **בעגלא ובזמן קריב, בתיכון וביומיכון, יתגדל ויתקדש**, recalling very strongly the method of aiming at emphasis common in the period after the forceful power and incisiveness of the language of the early prophets had been lost, so frequently found in the book of Daniel.⁵

These words form a Messianic prayer growing out of Ezek 38 23, in the manner of an **אמרתא**, the opening words of which were usually borrowed from a Biblical passage (**פסוקא**, **פסוקא**, **פסוקא**). Ezekiel's eschatological ideas of the final redemption at the end of days are very vivid, and the circumstantial account of the war with Gog and Magog, depicted in chapter 38, gave rise to an important chapter of Messianic teaching. The wars with Gog and Magog are regularly regarded in apocalyptic works and the Aggada, as ushering in the Messianic era.⁶ The victory over the godless nations will result in the hallowing of God's Name in the world **יתקדש שמה בעלמא** (cf. Ezek 38 23), and in complete fulfilment of His Will, **כרעותיה**, His Kingship will then be fully revealed **מלכותיה**.⁷

However simple the words of this paragraph may appear, their sense is difficult to express adequately. The Catechismus Romanus issued by the Council of Trent understands the first half of the Paternoster thus:

Hallowed be Thy Name	} as in heaven so on earth
Thy Kingdom come	
Thy Will be done	

⁴ Aboth 1 11 the **דרשן** Abtalyon utters the warning **הכמים הקהרו בדברייכם** Cant. Rab. to 4 11 **נפת תמפנה** ed. Wilna p. 28a similar warnings from the second and third centuries.

⁵ E. g. in the Aramaic portion of Daniel alone **ושחיתא** 2 12, **בנס וקצף** 2 9, **כדבה** 2 12, **עמיקתא ומסתריתא** 2 22, **עדינא חמניא** 2 21 (cf. 7 12), **חכמתא ונבורתא** 2 14, **עמא ומעם** 2 28 etc. So too 2 41 44 46 48 35 6 11 13 15 28 4 2 10 20 27 31 33 5 12 15 6 5 11 12 16 7 7 26. Cf. the style of **יציב** p. 15f and p. 56 note 11.

⁶ Revel. 20 8 Sibyllines 3 319 ff. 512 ff. Jer. Targ. to Ex 40 11 Num 11 26 24 17 Deut 32 39 I Sam 2 10 Isa 33 22 f. LXX to Num 24 7 has **לֹאֵל** for **אנג** and to Amos 7 1 for **גוי**.
⁷ Obad 21 Ps 103 19 145 11—13 146 10 Dan 2 44 7 14.

and F. H. CHASE⁸ is inclined to accept this as the original meaning. Without doubt, the Kaddish must be construed similarly according to the predominant thought and not strictly according to the order of the words. בעלמא must be joined in sense both backwards and forwards

יתגדל ויתקדש שמיא רבא
וימליך מלכותיה

בעלמא {

the variant reading of the Yemenite rite ימליך for ימליך giving direct support to this. In the same way, although it is not necessary to separate כרעותיה from דברא, it belongs more truly to the thought of the two main clauses, as we shall see:

יתגדל ויתקדש שמיא רבא
בעלמא דברא
וימליך מלכותיה

כרעותיה {

In this way the number of possible combinations of the words is very large.⁹ But the thought in the mind of the one who recited this prayer, although incompletely expressed, certainly extended the force of בעלמא and כרעותיה over both clauses, whether we regard it as a spontaneous prayer inadequately brought to expression, or as a carefully constructed form of words the full meaning of which could be brought out by the tones and emphasis of the speaker. The pregnancy of the construction can be only approximately suggested in a translation:—"May He, according to His Will, reveal in the world which He has created, the greatness and holiness of His great Name and His sovereignty . . .".

יתגדל¹⁰ Very many MSS. and some edit. treat ויתקדש as also the 7 praises . . . יתברך as pausal, pointing ויתקדש. Ibn Ezra seems to have regarded these two words as Hebrew¹¹ as does the Mahzor Vitry. But although יתרכי would be more purely Aramaic,

⁸ F. H. CHASE, *The Lord's Prayer in the early Church* (Texts and Studies) p. 40f. The ancient *Opus Imperfectum*, WESTCOTT-HORT, English Parliamentary Papers 1903 no. 53 und NESTLE are of the same opinion. See NESTLE *Zeitschrift f. neutest. Wissenschaft* 1905 p. 107.

⁹ Reading וימליך 10 combinations are possible; reading ימליך there are very many more. ¹⁰ Deut 32 3 Sirach 43 28.

¹¹ Ibn Ezra ספר מאונים 1140 writing on the sibilants, אמ, אותיות השרקים סג"ש : אמ, יהיה ראש הפועל סמך או שין יתאחר הן התפעל כי דרך הן התפעל להתקדם כמו יתגדל ויתקדש (ed. Venice 1546).

e. g. Ez 38 23 Targ., in the language of the Targum יתגדל would pass muster as Aramaic. The form with Pathah could very well be Hebrew. Kimḥi¹² reads in Dan 11 36 ויתרום ויתגדל where our Masoretic text has Sere (cf. ibid. 11 37 ויתגדל). Brit. Mus. Bible MS. Or. 4445 dating from the middle of the 9th cent. has on folio 40 the note על שם הכותב והמנקד יתגדל ל' (יתא); hence the scribe and punctuator must have had יתגדל in Isa 10 15 (Dan 11 36).

ויתקדש¹³ We cannot translate these two Ithpaals as pure passives "May His great Name be magnified and sanctified . . .", like the 7 praises . . . יתברך "May be blessed". They are medial "May there be revealed the greatness and holiness . . ." The order of the two words is thoroughly traditional in this form or as adjectives רבא וקדישא, גדול וקדוש.

שְׁמִיהָ Dan 2 20 4 16 as the inscriptions better than שְׁמִיהָ of most MSS. and edd. The medieval explanation¹⁴ that saw in שְׁמִיהָ the equivalent of שֵׁם, although having no philological justification, offers a correct interpretation. Namely, in connection with Exod 17 16 בִּי יָד עַל כֶּסֶף יְהוָה מִלְחָמָה לֵּה' בעמלק מדר דר, the Name (יְהוָה for the Tetragrammaton) and Throne (כֶּסֶף for כִּסֵּא) of God will not be complete until victory crowns the twelve months (Eduy 2 10) war with Gog and Magog = Amalek. Then will the greatness of God's Name first be fully revealed (Ezek 38 23).

On the form שֵׁם, see BARTH *N. B.* § 2c no. 7 p. 7. LAGARDE, *Übersicht* 159 8 160 10. D. G. 200.

A direct Name of God in the Kaddish is obviously avoided, and שְׁמִיָּה, קודשא בריך הוא, (שֵׁם Dan 4 5 Ezr 5 1; Mandaic), שְׁמִיָּה, שְׁמִיָּה, שְׁמִיָּה being used instead. Leaving out of account the difficult passage Deut 28 58 לִירֹאָה אֶת הַשֵּׁם הַנִּכְבָּד וְהַנּוֹרָא הוּא אֶת ה' and the exceptional passage Lev 24 11 ויקל את השם . . . ויקל and the exceptional passage Lev 24 11 ויקל and the exceptional passage Lev 24 11 ויקל this avoidance of pronouncing the Tetragrammaton is probably already to be traced in exilic times.¹⁵ The transference is perhaps

¹² David Kimḥi (1160–1235) Michlol p. 76.

¹³ Lev 22 32 Isa 29 23 Mal 1 11 (Targ.). Sirach 36 4 Luke 1 49 Koran 2 28.

¹⁴ Pesikṭa Rab. Ch 12 p. 51a Maḥzor Vitry p. 8 Tosafoth Ber 3a etc. etc.

¹⁵ Compare Targ. to 24 16 and Sanhed 7 5 המנוף אינו חייב ער שימור השם.

¹⁶ BEN JAKOB, *Im Namen Gottes* p. 187. Compare the usage in the Assuan Papyri with that of Ezra and Nehemiah.

to be seen in verses like **אלהים בשמך הושעני** Ps 54 3.¹⁷ By the third century B. C. the Tetragrammaton was certainly regarded as a "nomen ineffabile". The book of Daniel avoids it and **אדני** except in the prayer chap. 9 and 1 2 (**אדני**). In the books of Esther and 1st Maccabees these Names do not occur at all, "Heaven" replacing them in the latter work. The old term **שם המפורש** for the Tetragrammaton, according to BACHER¹⁸ equivalent to "the distinguished, preeminent Name", although most probably to be understood as "the Name distinctly pronounced",¹⁹ is explained by M. GRÜNBAUM²⁰ as "the separated, secret Name". **זה שמי לעלם** (Exod 3 15) was homiletically interpreted as **זה שמי לעלם** (or **לעלם**) Kid 71a 17; and **אֵת וַיִּמְעַלְם** Isa 57 11, read by the LXX and Vulg. as **וַיִּמְעַלְם**, and **אֵת וַיִּמְעַלְם** Eccl 3 11 treated as **לעולם**, are also made to refer to this avoidance of uttering the Tetragrammaton.

It was spoken in the Temple in the Priestly Blessing²¹ until, according to one tradition, the death of Simon the Just, 270 B. C., and ten times on the Day of Atonement,²² whereas outside the Temple the name **אדני** was used in its stead. With the destruction of the Temple, the distant way of speaking of God evidenced everywhere²³ became the rule. E. LANDAU²⁴ enumerates 57 usual expressions (**כְּנוּיִים**) used in designating God.²⁵

In the Mishna occur phrases such as **הבשר לשם** (Shek 6 6), **אחר** **לשם** (Yoma 4 1).²⁶ In the Jer. Targumim **רבא** **שמה**²⁷ or

¹⁷ Compare the remarkable phrase Isa 30 27 **הנה שם ה' בא ממרחק**. Further Ps 7 18 9 3 92 2.

¹⁸ ETT. pp. 159f. 186f. ETA. 218.

¹⁹ MUNK, *Guide des Égarés* I 267, GEIGER, *Urschrift* p. 264, DALMAN, *Der Gottesname Adonaj* 52f., BACHER, ETT. 159f.

²⁰ ZDMG. XXXIX esp. pp. 543—572.

²¹ Num 6 22—27 Sota 7 6 and p. 38a 18 Tamid 7 2 Sanh 101b 22.

²² T. Yoma 21 1831 Yoma 39b.

²³ LXX **νόμος**, Matth 6 9 10 28 Luke 12 5. Specially characteristic of the Targum.

²⁴ *Die dem Raume entnommenen Synonyma für Gott in der neuhebr. Literat.* Zürich 1888 p. 6ff.

²⁵ Jacob Ba'al ha Turim (fl. 1300) to Num 11 16 enumerates 70 Biblical designations of God, reproduced ZDMG. XXXV 167. Moslem theologians reckon 99.

²⁶ Similar to the usage in Acts 5 41 3 John 7.

²⁷ Gen 22 19 J I, 25 22 Eccl 3 11 (not ed. LAGARDE), Cant 2 17.

more fully *שְׁמָא רַבָּא וְקִירָא*,²⁸ *שְׁמָא רַבָּא וְדָחִילָא*,²⁹ *שְׁמָא רַבָּא וְקִירָא*³⁰ etc. occur simply as the equivalent of ה'. According to the Masora to Onkelos Exod 22 19 and Lev 16 9 the tradition of the school of Sura read *לְשִׁמָּא דִּה* in the former passage, *קִרָּא דִּה* in the latter and the school of Nehardea vice versa. Onkelos to Gen 25 22 has ה', the Jer. Targumim *שֵׁם רַבָּא*. Clearly then *שֵׁם*, *שְׁמָא* and the more common *שְׁמָא רַבָּא* are simply substituted for the Tetragrammaton; so that *שְׁמִיָּה רַבָּא*, the *הַזְכָּרַת הַשֵּׁם* in the Kaddish, is nothing but a metonymy for God. The Samaritans similarly always employ the word *שְׁמָא* when reading their Pentateuch³¹ but they used the Tetragrammaton in oaths (J. Sanh. 10 1, 28 b³).

The other designations of God occurring in the Kaddish *קִדְשָׁא* *הוּא* *בְּרִיךְ הוּא* *אב(והוּן) דְּבִשְׁמִיָּא* and *שְׁמִיָּא*, noticed later, are similarly nothing but the most commonly used of the more distant designations of God. In the Mishna Aboth, in which tractate the Name of God has most occasion to be mentioned *הַשֵּׁם = שְׁמָא* occurs once, *הַקִּדּוּשׁ* *אב() דְּבִשְׁמִיָּא = אב() שְׁבַשְׁמִיָּם* 3 times, *בְּרוּךְ הוּא = בְּרוּךְ הוּא* once, and *שְׁמִיָּא = שְׁמִיָּם* eight times. The other appellations not occurring in the Kaddish are *הַמְּקוֹם* five times, occurring in the Hebrew version of the Kaddish in Soferim 14 12 (p. 18) and *הַשְׁכִּינָה* once. Mishna Yoma has *הַמְּקוֹם*, *הַקַּב"ה* and *שְׁבַשְׁמִיָּם* once each, *הַשֵּׁם* in prayers and " in Biblical passages.³²

רַבָּא as seen above, is the usual adjective qualifying *שְׁמָא* when used to designate God. It goes back to Biblical usage like³³ *שֵׁם הַגָּדוֹל* or *שְׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל* (Jer 44 26). In the corresponding Hebrew Kaddish of Soferim 14 12 it appears as *שְׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל*. It is of very general occurrence in the oldest prayers.

²⁸ J I Exod 4 20 16 25 32 25 Lev 16 21 24 11 Deut 9 19.

²⁹ J I Deut 9 19 28 58.

³⁰ J I Exod 28 30 Num 31 8.

³¹ J. H. PETERMANN, *Samarit. Gram.* 1878 p. 78. ABRAHAM GEIGER, *Nachgelassene Schriften* III 261.

³² DWJ. 159. On the whole question of the use of *שֵׁם* etc. see M. GRÜNBAUM, ZDMG. XXXIX 543—572, XL. NESTLE ib. XXXII 468 500 506. G. DALMAN, *Der Gottesname Adonaj (Studien zur biblischen Theologie)* Berlin 1889 p. 36 et seq. BEN JAKOB, *Im Namen Gottes*. Berlin 1903. E. LANDAU, *Die dem Raume . . .* SCHÜRER, *Jahrbuch für Protest. Theologie* II 1876. 168 ff.

³³ Josh 7 9 I Kgs 8 42 Jer 10 6 Ezek 36 23.

בְּעֵלְמָא must be construed also with וַיִּמְלִיךָ מַלְכוּתִיהָ in sense. The simple meaning is "in the world", a meaning עֵלְמָא does not bear in Biblical Aramaic but which is found quite early in Rabbinical writings.³⁴ A very strong tendency exists to expand it on all occasions possible into דַּאֲרֵי וּבְעֵלְמָא דַּאֲרֵי. In the Hebrew version of Soferim 14 12 we find it as הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְהָעוֹלָם הַבָּא and in the burial Kaddish as given in the Mahzor Vitry (p. 247) דַּאֲמִירָא בְּעֵלְמָא דַּאֲרֵי וְדַאֲתַאמְרָא בְּעֵלְמָא דַּאֲרֵי. This tendency is constantly met with in the Targumim³⁵ and is naturally compared with the supposed lengthening of מְעוֹלָם to מְעוֹלָם וְעַד מְעוֹלָם through the antagonism of the Sadducees (p. 53). On the other hand the implied antithesis to the word בְּעֵלְמָא here would appear to be בְּשַׁמַּיָא i. e. the praise of the angels who are³⁶ מְקַדְּשֵׁי יוֹם הַמִּידָא with the thrice "Holy". God's Glory and Kingship are fully revealed in Heaven. The prayer is for their full revelation upon earth (בְּעֵלְמָא). בְּעֵלְמָא is of course better than בְּעֵלְמָא of the edd. and MSS. cf. גְּלַחְלַח, עוֹלָם. The punctuation עֵלְמָא is apparently a Hebraism to avoid a long vowel in a closed syllable.³⁷ On the form, see ZDMG XLIV 1890 p. 685 note 3, LAGARDE, *Übersicht* 115f. On the meaning E. LANDAU, *Die dem Raume* p. 3.

7 The short form ד is better than דִּי as a separate word. It is true that the testimony of the oldest versions and MSS. usually gives דִּי in דִּיבְרָא, דִּיבְשַׁמַּיָא, דִּיבְאֲתָרָא, and דִּיבְכָל but the Yod is a mater lectionis of ד the prefixed relative. In the later editions this דִּי is treated as an independent word.³⁸ Biblical Aramaic recognises only דִּי in common with Nabatean. Palmyrene,³⁹ as Mandaic,⁴⁰ uses both

³⁴ DWJ. 138ff. Cf. DE VOGÜÉ 73 1 etc. Assy. ullû means far away, long ago in time.

³⁵ Isa 63 Cant 13 Ps 41 14 89 53 90 2 106 48 1 Chr 16 36 29 10 Exod 15 18 J. I.

³⁶ TBER. 7 34 17 84 29 136 163. Compare the old Kedusha בְּעוֹלָם בְּעוֹלָם בְּעוֹלָם וְיִתְגַּדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמוֹ שֶׁל הַקְּבִ"ה בְּעוֹלָם כּוּלָּא. TBER. 12 56 כְּשֶׁם שֶׁמְקַדְּשִׁים אֹתוֹ בְּשֵׁם מְרוֹם יִתְגַּדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמוֹ שֶׁל הַקְּבִ"ה בְּעוֹלָם כּוּלָּא. Similarly 12 58 omitting שְׁבָרָא. בְּעוֹלָם כּוּלָּא שְׁבָרָא מִסּוּף הָעוֹלָם וְעַד סוּף.

³⁷ In East Syriac closed syllables with long vowels are frequently shortened e. g. גְּלַחְלַח for גְּלַחְלַח.

³⁸ Jacob b. Zebi Emden 1697—1776, the בַּאֲר הַיִּטֵּב to the Shulhan Aruch Oraḥ Hayyim 36 2, BAER etc.

³⁹ RECKENDORFF, ZDMG. XLII. 1888 p. 389. LIDZBARSKI 267.

⁴⁰ NÖLDEKE, *Mandäische Grammatik* § 84.

the idea being closely bound up with that of the $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$.⁴⁶ The parallel prayer in Soferim 14:12 runs **בְּעוֹלָמוֹת שְׁמוֹ . . . יִתְגַּדַּל . . . כְּרִצּוֹנוֹ וְכְרִצּוֹן יִרְאִיו וְכְרִצּוֹן כָּל עַמּוֹ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל תִּגְלָה וְתִרְאָה מַלְכוּתוֹ שֶׁבְּרָא . . . כְּרִצּוֹנוֹ וְכְרִצּוֹן יִרְאִיו וְכְרִצּוֹן כָּל עַמּוֹ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל** and the meaning certainly is not that God created this world and the world to be **כְּרִצּוֹן כָּל עַמּוֹ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל**. In the Kaddish **כְּרִעוּתִיה** must be taken in sense with the whole passage, backwards with **יִתְגַּדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא** and forwards with **מַלְכוּתִיה**; and in the Hebrew version **כְּרִצּוֹנוֹ** must extend its force both backwards and forwards. For both the revelation of God's greatness and holiness and of His Kingship are according to His Will.

The idea of praise, especially that arising from prayer or study, which hastens the approach of Messianic times,⁴⁷ being acceptable to God and according to His Will, is one that continually recurs.⁴⁸ Especially noteworthy are three passages:

(1) The second paragraph of the Kaddish in the Genizah fragment (G. D. K. 53) **יִתְבָּרַךְ . . . שְׁמֵיהּ . . . לְעֵילָא מְכַל בְּרַכְתָּא שִׁירָתָא . . . דְּאִמְרִין** and in the Hebrew fragment similarly **הָאִמּוּרוֹת בְּעוֹלָם כְּרִצּוֹנוֹ וְאִמְרוֹתָא אִמְרוֹתָא**.

(2) The saying B (p. 8) from Ber. 3a: **בְּשַׁעָה שִׁישְׂרָאֵל עוֹשִׂין רְצוֹנוֹ שֶׁל מְקוֹם וְנִכְנָסִין לְבֵיתִי כְּנִסְיוֹת וּלְבֵיתִי מִדְּרָשׁוֹת וְעוֹנִין יְהֵא שְׁמֵיהּ וְנִ**

(3) Yalkut I 408 to וְיִקְהַל: **לְהַקְהִיל קְהָלוֹת בְּכָל שַׁבָּת וְשַׁבָּת וּלְכַנּוּם: בְּבֵיתִי מִדְּרָשׁוֹת לְלַמֵּד וּלְהוֹרוֹת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל דְּבָרֵי תוֹרָה אִיסּוּר וְהִיתָר כְּדִי שִׁיְהֵא שְׁמֵי הַגְּדוֹל מִתְקַלָּם . . . אָמַר מֹשֶׁה אִם אַתֶּם עוֹשִׂים כַּסְדֹּר הַזֶּה הַקָּב"ה מַעֲלָה עֲלֵיכֶם** "To gather assemblies every sabbath and to come together in the study houses to teach Israel the words of the Torah, what is forbidden and what allowed so that My great Name may be praised. . . . Moses said: 'If you carry out this re-

stantly. ZUNZ GV² p. 389e. בְּמִימְרֵיהּ (e. g. Gen 21 33 J II, Deut 33 27 Onk) is the regular Aram. of בְּדַבְּרוֹ, בְּמִאמְרוֹ etc. BACHER, *ETA*. 36 on דְּבֹר.

⁴⁶ Hebrews 1 2 δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν.

⁴⁷ According to a general belief the time for the Messiah to reveal himself had long arrived, but his appearance was kept back until the people should be worthy of him e. g. Micah 4 8 Targ. וְאֵת מְשִׁיחָא דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל דְּמִסְרִי מִן קֳדָם חוֹבֵי כְּנִישְׁתָּא. רִצְיוֹן לֶךְ עֲתִידָא מַלְכוּתָא לְמִיתִי and literature there given.

⁴⁸ Ps 147 11 וְאֵנִי תַפְלִי לֶךְ ה' עַת רִצּוֹן. Ps 69 14 תַּפְלִית יִשְׂרָאֵל רְצוֹנוֹ. Isa 49 8 ה' אֵת יִרְאִיו אֵת הַמִּיחָלִים לְחַסְדּוֹ בְּעִירֵי דָאֲתוֹן עֲבִירֵי רְעוּתִי. Targ. בְּעַת רִצּוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ. אני מְקַבֵּל צְלוֹתְכֶן.

gulation, the Holy One, blessed be He, will regard you as making Him sovereign in His world'." These three passages leave little doubt that the true construction of כרעותיה is with the two main ideas of the paragraph, ימליך מלכותיה and יתגדל. רעות occurs in the late Aramaizing Hebrew of Ecclesiastes as "longing, striving" in the frequent phrase רעות רוח, and in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 5 17 7 18). It is in its various forms רעי, רעותא, רענא, a *Katl* form, and it is unnecessary to correct the usual construct רעות into רעות, as MEXX suggests (*Chrestomathia Targumica*).

וימליך, not the invariably occurring Hebraizing form וימליך. The second Yod is again only a mater lectionis, very often inserted in unpointed texts to indicate an E sound e. g. ידביק, מקביל, ניהמתא etc., here especially to avoid reading וימלך, a reading found consistently⁴⁹ in the Yemen MSS. It is true that in sound trilateral verbs in Biblical Aramaic, only forms with the Hirek יהשפל, תהנוק, ממשל occur; and in Biblical Aramaic in general the form with the Hirek prevails over that with Sere such as תמלל. But in Rabbinical Aramaic the second characteristic vowel of the Afel is, according to all traditions, Sere.

The Yemenite reading וימלך is hardly defensible, whether מלכותיה be taken as a locative "in His Kingdom" or as an added cognate accusative strengthening and specifying the verb ימליך "as to His Kingdom". It is defended⁵⁰ by the supposition that the Afel would mean "cause some one else to reign". The Yemen texts vary between וימלך and וימלך.⁵¹

מלכותיה⁵² 'His Kingship', not as BOUSSET, SCHÜRER⁵³ etc. 'His political, physical Kingdom'. This is plain from Biblical verses,⁵⁴

⁴⁹ A solitary instance of וימליך in the Kaddish de Rabbanan occurs in Or. 1479 no doubt under the influence of other rites. The Peal form may either have arisen from a wrong punctuation of וימלך, or from a confusion of Vaw and Yod in וימליך. ⁵⁰ Commentary in the printed edition תכלאל Jerus. 1894.

⁵¹ For instance is read by Or. 2227 2418, DWJ. one text etc. וימלך by Or. 1479 1480 2389 GASTER 321 A etc.

⁵² DWJ. 75—83, SCHÜRER, *Jahrbuch für Protest. Theologie* II 1876 p. 175 et seq. SCHÜRER, *GJV*. 2 628 f. gives literature.

⁵³ BOUSSET, *Religion d. Judenthums* 199 et seq., SCHÜRER, *GJV*. 2 588 et seq.

⁵⁴ Jer 10 7 10 Obad 21 Ps 22 29 47 3 s 98 6 103 19 145 11—13 146 10 Dan 2 44 7 14 1 Chr 29 11 f. etc.

the language of the oldest prayers,⁵⁵ the apocalyptic and apocryphal literature,⁵⁶ and from repeated passages in the Targum and Rabbinic idiom generally.⁵⁷ Hence מלכותיה must be translated "may He reveal His Sovereignty", not as usually "may He establish His Kingdom." The corresponding phrase in the Hebrew version of Soferim 14:12 runs תגלה ותרצה מלכותו. For in the Jewish view, God's Kingship over Israel and the world is and always has been established, but only after the Messianic kingdom will it be for the first time fully revealed.⁵⁸ Zach 14:9 והיה ה' למלך על כל הארץ appears in the Targum as (אומר לציון) קלך ותתגלי מלכותא דה' על כל יתבי ארעא. Isa 52:7 קלך והיתה לה' המלוכה Obad 21 ותתגלי דאלהך becomes ותתגלי דאלהך מלכותא דאלהך. Soferim 14:12 ותתגלי מלכותא דה' בקריב על כל יתבי ארעא ותהי מלכותא דה' לעלם ולעלמי עלמא. In Esther II 1:1 beginning, occur ה' צבאות דבעגלא תתגל מלכותיה על כל דיירי ארעא and ה' צבאות דבעגלא תתגל מלכותיה על כל דיירי ארעא. So too in the Midrash constantly נלה e. g. Cant Rab 17c to 2:13 (ref. to 2:12 הניע וזמנה של מלכות שמים שתגלה, (עת הוזמר הניע). The Arabic loan word مَلَكُوت used only of divine rule is borrowed from מלכות used in this sense without further qualification.⁶⁰

The added words in Maim., Yemen, Abud., Mod. Span., Cochin,

⁵⁸ Sabbath 'Amidah (Amram 29b) יִשְׁמְחוּ בַמְלוּכוֹת; the very old New Year 'Amidah or יִשְׁתַּחֲווּ לַפָּנִיךָ כָל הַבְּרֻאִים וְיֵעָשׂוּ כֻלָּם אֶנְדָּה אַחַת לַעֲשׂוֹת רִצּוֹן בְּלִבֵּב שָׁלֵם 'Amidah נגלה כבוד מלכותך עלינו מתרה. Shem. 'Esre 11 למִלֵּךְ עֲלֵינוּ אַחַת לְבוֹדךָ, the old Kaddish like prayer (Amram 9a Vitry 67) מַלְכֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ שֶׁכֶּן בְּעוֹלָמְךָ יְיָ מַלְכוּתְךָ בְּעוֹלָמְךָ Sabbath Kedusha (Amr. 10b) תְּרַאֲיֵנָה בַמְלוּכוֹת 'Alenu (probably much earlier than Rab 230 CE). See Jewish Encycl. HAMBURGER, *Real Encycl.* Suppl. 2 6 לחקן עולם במלכות שדי ויקבלו עול מלכות ותמלך עליהם לעולם ועד כי המלכות שלך היא ולעולם עד עולם, phrases like תמלך בכבוד etc. etc.

⁵⁶ E. g. Tobit 13¹¹ et seq. 14⁶.

⁵⁷ E. g. מלכות שמים קבל Ber 2 2 5 etc. is the confession of belief in God's unity and dominion.

⁵⁸ Sifre Deut 32:10 p. 134b has the following significant Midrash: ער שלא בא אבינו אברהם לעולם בְּיָכוֹל לא היה הקב"ה מֶלֶךְ אֵלָּא עַל הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּלִבְדִּי שְׁנֵאמַר ה' אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר לַחֲנִי... אֲבָל מִשְׁבָּא אֲבִינוֹ אֲבָרָהָם לְעוֹלָם הַמִּלִּיכָה עַל הַשָּׁמַיִם וְעַל הָאָרֶץ שְׁנֵאמַר "Before the time of Abraham God was, as it were, King of heaven alone (with reference to Gen 24:7 'God of heaven'), but since his time, He has been King over heaven and earth (with reference to Gen 24:3 'the God of heaven and the God of earth')." Cf. Targ. Jer. Gen 24:3.

⁵⁹ Compare Targ. to Isa 31 4 40 9 Ezek 7 7 10 Mic 4 7.

⁸⁰ ABR. GEIGER, *Was hat Mohammed* p. 59.

Carpentras, Romania, Corfu etc. go back in part to a very early variant in the text and may possibly be attributed to the difference between the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions.

וַיִּצְמַח At least פורקניה וייצמה would seem to be original to one early recension (? Palestinian), the doubled expressions characterising the style of the prayer favoring its originality. The root צמח is used with a directly Messianic meaning. צֶמַח is a traditional designation for the Messiah⁶¹ and the verb צמח is constantly used with קרן or פורקן (ישועה) in a Messianic connection.⁶² The intimate relationship of the two ideas צמח and פורקן is exemplified by Targum paraphrases such as אקים פורקן לבית ישראל (Ezek 29 21) becoming אקים פורקן לבית ישראל or עידן פורקן כנישתכון (Ezek 16 7) being turned as עידן פורקן.

פִּרְקָנָה The form פִּרְקָן in punctuated texts in better than פִּרְקָן. Biblical Aramaic has קֹתָן forms with Kameṣ (ed. BAER, Haṭef Kameṣ) פִּתְחַן Ezra 7 19, שְׁלֹטָן 14 times, שְׁכֻלְתָּנוּ Dan 5 11 12 14. Seadya reads (infra p. 62) חֶשְׁבַּחְתָּא. Mandaic and the Targum always have the form with Vav. The vowels *u* and *o* were used however almost promiscuously. קָרְבַּן occurs Neh 10 35 13 31 beside the otherwise invariable קָרְבָּן. [מָרָר] Dan 2 11 contrasts with [מְדוּרָר] Dan 4 22 29 5 21. גְּלִילִיתָא appears in Matth 27 33 as γολγοθᾶ. שׁוֹפֵט is presented to us in Phoenician as 'suffetes'. In Onkelos Exod 28 3 the Masora of the school of Sura requires חֶקְמָא that of Nehardea חֻכְמָא. There is a similar difference between *o* and *u* in East and West Syrian.

On the form פורקן BARTH *N. B.* § 194 p. 318 p. XXIX note 1
 ABR. GEIGER, *Was hat Mohammed* 55f. D. G. 174.

⁶¹ J. Ber 2⁴ 5a ¹³ Isa 4² Targ. Jer 23⁵ 33¹⁵ Zech 3⁸ 6¹².

⁶² Ps 61₉ יום יום is expanded by the Targum to ביוםא דפרוקנא דישראל ובוים. An additional Targ. to Gen 49₁₈ Cod. Oxf. 2305 (GINSBURGER, *Fragmenten Targ.* p. 74) reads לא פורקניה דמשה בר דוד הווא ... אלא לא פורקניה דמשה בר דוד הווא פורק. Ps 132₁₇ Jer 33₁₅. Amram 53a Soferim 19₉ (New moon blessing), Karaite marriage blessing ביימיו בימיו כהרף עין ישועה לנו תצמח לנו תצמח. 'Esre 2 Palest. version תצמח לנו תצמח כהרף עין ישועה לנו תצמח. Shem. 'Esre 15 Babyl. version, Soferim 13₁₃ Amram I 29b JRH. 46 59c²² Haftarah blessing קרן ישועה and מצמח קרן ישועה. The short Shem. 'Esre הבינו DWJ., *Anhang* 304 Babyl. צמחת קרן Amidah 'Esre דור עברך. הצמחת קרן לדור עברך. The 10th Amram II 20a רחמנא ארים ימינך ואצמח פורקנך רחמנא ארים ימינך ואצמח פורקנך. The elaborate פורקניה בחייון of the Yemen Cod. GASTER 243f. 132af. ויצמח פורקניה בחייון.

וְיִקְרַב A Pael, hebraizing, is often found with **קרב**.⁶³ Abudarham and Mod. Span. ritual for the New Year following him, read **וְיָבֵעַ קָץ מְשִׁיחָה**. In the burial Kaddish, Vitry reads **וְיָבֵעַ מְשִׁיחָה** as KOSHUT's Yemen text. Other Yemenite texts read **קץ מלכות משיחיה** or simply **משיחיה**.

וְיָבֵעַ Afel of **בָּעַע**, to hasten. The editio princeps of Abudarham, Lisbon 1490, and all later editions, read **וְיָבֵעַ וְיָבֵא**, but the appended explanation **מִתְרַגְּמִי וּמְבַע** (Deut 32³⁵) **וְחַשׁ עֲתִידָהּ**, implies the reading **וְיָבֵעַ**. Compare Sirach 36 10 **וּפְקֹד מוֹעֵד**.

קָץ is a technical term used somewhat indefinitely for the consummation of this world, the Messianic period, either as the advent of the Messiah e. g. Gen 49 1 J I **קִצָּא דְעֵתִיד מַלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא לְמִיתִי** or as the Messiah's year of battle with the godless nations, as in the long paraphrase added to Targ. Isa. 10 32 **וּבִן עֲתִידִין** or for the end of the Messianic period when it gives way to the **מַלְכוּת שְׁמַיָּם**, as in Exod 15 18 J II **לִילִיא רְבִיעָאָה כְּד שְׁלִים עֲלָמָא קִצָּא לְמַתְפָּרְקָא נִירִי פְרוּלָא יִתְבְּרוּן** and **וְעִבְדִּי רִשְׁעָא יִשְׁתַּיְצוּן . . . וְיִמְרוּן בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל דָּהּ הוּא מַלְכוּתִיהָ בְּעֲלָמָא הָדִין** and **וּבְעֲלָמָא דְאֵתִי דִּילִיָּה הוּא**. The term is frequently found in the New Testament and in apocalyptic literature.⁶⁴ The Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament were deeply studied, especially by the Hassidim (Dan 9 2) and Essenes; and prophecies fixing limits such as the 70 years of Jer 25 11 29 10 or the "weeks" and "times" of Dan 9 24 ff. 7 25 12 4 12 were made the basis of calculation to discover the "End".⁶⁵ Hab 2 3 **כִּי עוֹד חֹזֶן לְמוֹעֵד וְיָפָה לֶקֶץ וְלֹא יִכּוֹב אִם יִתְמַחֲמָה חֲכָה** and similar verses were applied by these **מַחֲשָׁבֵי קִצָּים** "reckoners of the End" (Sanh 97b 26) to fix the **קָץ**. Since their calculations often brought disappointment on the people, the Talmud condemns them.⁶⁶ Jer 8 20 **עֲבַר קִצֵּיר כֻּלָּה קָץ וְאִנְחֵנוּ לֹא נוֹשַׁעְנוּ** appears in the Targum as **עֲדָא וְיִמְנָא שְׁלִים קִצָּא וְאִנְחָנָא לֹא מַתְפָּרְקִין** (Cf.

⁶³ MERX, *Chrestomathia Targumica*.

⁶⁴ Matth 24 6 (= Mk 13 7 Luke 21 9) 24 14 τὸ τέλος. Compare εἰς τέλος Matth 10 22 (= Mark 13 13) 24 13, Matth 13 39 24 3 συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος. Syriac Baruch 27 15. Assumption of Moses 1 18.

⁶⁵ 8 19 מוֹעֵד קָץ; 12 4 9; 12 13 35 40 11 35 8 17 עַתָּה קָץ; 12 13 קָץ הַיּוֹם; 9 26; 12 13 קָץ דַּיְמִין; 11 27 קָץ לְמוֹעֵד; 35 5. Ezek 21 30 34 35 5 עַתָּה עוֹן קָץ; 12 6 קָץ הַפְּלֹאָה; 11 27 קָץ לְמוֹעֵד.

⁶⁶ Sanh. 97b 26 Derech Eres Rabba 11 חֲלָק לֹא הָקָץ אֵין לוֹ חֲלָק

Amos 8 2). For the true time of the קץ is hidden. In the account of the Jer. Targumin to Gen 49 1 Jacob wished to reveal the קיצא גנייז J I, קיצא גנייז J II Gen 49 1 2, to his sons, but at that moment it was hidden from him.⁶⁷ According to the Talmud Meg 3a¹⁷ Jonathan b. Uzziel was not allowed to furnish the Hagiographa with a Targum משיח בה קץ משיח, and the discussions (Sanh 97b—99a) about the expected advent of the Messiah do not come to any definite conclusion.

The expressions עקב יומיא, סוף יומיא although sometimes used in the sense of קץ e. g. Exod 40 9 J I ומלכא משיחא דעתיד למפרק ית ישראל J I, Gen 3 13 J II בסוף עקב יומיא ביומי דמלכא (cf. 40 11 J I), Gen 3 13 J II בסוף יומיא, as a rule bear a less definite meaning and correspond more with the vague אחרית הימים⁶⁸

A close and instructive parallel to the two readings here, is again offered by the prayer מלכנו אלהינו (p. 36, note 55), which, as a closing prayer, shows a striking similarity with the Kaddish in both thought and expression. Amram I 9a reads there קרב משיח (= ויקרב משיח) as does the old Genizah variant of the closing prayer אלהי נצור.⁶⁹ In the later work, the Maḥzor Vitry the expression is amplified to קרב קץ ביאת משיח (= ויבא קץ משיח). The elaborate Kaddish of the Cochin prayer book (p. 23a) contains a paragraph before עושה שלום opening האל אב הרהמן יהיש הקץ וימהר followed by an answering paragraph האלהים יהיש הקץ וימהר followed by an answering paragraph הנאולה.

משיח. The popular belief in a personal Messiah dates from the time of Herod. The absence of any reference to the Messiah in the "Messianic" Kaddish in its simple form, would support the early date assigned to this paragraph. For the ordering of the ideas, the advent of the Messiah (ויקרב משיח) and the redemption (ויפדוק עמיה and ויצמח פורקניה) mentioned after מלכותיה would seem to stamp all except מלכותיה as a later amplification.

לעז"ב. The plural of קץ in later Hebrew is קצים as in מחשבי קצים; Biblical Hebrew only recognises קצות.

⁶⁷ Compare Tanḥuma ibid. p. 108b. Midrash Eleh Ezkera, JELLINEK, BH. II 73 etc.

⁶⁸ Num 24 14 OJ. Deut 31 29 Isa 2 2 etc.

⁶⁹ Published by GASTER, GDK. p. 239.

וּבְתִי דְכָל־בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל Even private prayer according to one opinion⁷³ should be framed so as to include the whole congregation, and from an extension of the same principle the prayer of a congregation is usually made to include the whole congregation of Israel.⁷⁴

Maim. and Yemen read with the redundant possessive suffix וּבְחֵיתוֹן דְּכָל. This construction, occurring even in Onkelos,⁷⁵ is in the Kaddish especially characteristic of Maimonides and Yemen in their readings דְּכָל בְּעוֹתוֹן (p. 66), קְהֵלוֹן דִּישְׂרָאֵל (p. 70). Otherwise מוֹרִיָּה דְּשָׁמַיָּא וְאַרְעָא occurring in the Roman, Spanish etc. rituals is the only example in the Kaddish.

בְּעֵנְלָא speedily, literally: in haste. Hamanhig, Carpentras and Lille and some old MSS (GASTER, Cod. 73, Laur. II 52, Commentary of Peres Cod. Montefiore 53) read בְּעֵנְלָא (cf. Job 20 5 Targ. Syr. **ܕܒܥܢܠܐ** — Gen 18 6) Esth II 1 1 ed. LAGARNE reads מְלֻכּוֹתֵיהָ דְּבַעְנָלָא תַתְּנִילָא מְלֻכּוֹתֵיהָ. It is frequently coupled with

כֵּן תִּשְׁתַּלַּח אֲמוֹתָא וּבְיָמֵן קָרִיב e. g. Amram I 52 b the first אֲמוֹתָא ends כֵּן בְּעֵנְלָא וּבּוֹמֵן קָרִיב וְאָמְרוּ אֲמֵן. In TBER. 18 95 the Aramaic בְּעֵנְלָא וּבּוֹמֵן קָרִיב occurs as a familiar expression in the Hebrew text. So too partly Aramaic ib. 19 110 מְהֵרָה וּבּוֹמֵן קָרִיב as in the Genizah fragment quoted above (p. 18). In the Hebrew version of the Kaddish of Soferim 14 12 it appears as בְּמְהֵרָה וּבּוֹמֵן קָרִיב.

וּמֵן is better than זָמֵן. The best texts in Dan 2 16 7 12 (ed. STRACK) have the Pathah and although Biblical Hebrew only testifies to the pausal form זָמֵן, here also זָמֵן is probably the correct ground form of this Aramaism, rather than the usually accepted form וּמֵן. זָמֵן of the superlinear punctuation is an error for זָמֵן. It occurs in Arabic as a loan word both as زَمَن and زَمَان.⁷⁶

קָרִיב, used of place and time,⁷⁷ is usually so punctuated in both systems. It is really a Hebraizing vocalisation, as יִקְרֵב is.

וְאָמְרוּ does not appear in Amram, Carpentras. old Castilian

⁷³ Abaye (d. 339) Ber 29b **אֵינִשׁ נַפְשִׁיהּ בְּהָרִי צִיבּוּרָא**.

⁷⁴ 2 Macc 16 "And now we pray here (in Jerusalem) for you (in Egypt)." Commonly in closing formulae such as Derech Ereš Zutta בְּמֵהֵרָה דִּישְׂרָאֵל וּבּוֹמֵן כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲמֵן.

⁷⁵ Gen 6 16 14 12 19 25 36 43 etc.

⁷⁶ NÖLD., *Mand. Gram.* 152 § 127. DG. 79 146.

⁷⁷ Targ. to Deut 32 35 Isa 13 22 Ezek 36 s etc.

and many old MSS,⁷⁸ where it is wanting also in the later paragraphs; but it may nevertheless have been supplied in actual recitation. The invariable punctuation found is the Hebrew one וְאָמַר, just as וְאָמַר occurs at the end of the Aramaic prayer יְקוֹם פּוֹרֶקֶן (p. 90). In spite of the commonness of the word that could well have made it a fixed term common to both Hebrew and Aramaic, and the similarity of sound between the Hebrew and Aramaic וְאָמַר, it is probably more truly read as Aramaic as is also וְאָמַר in יְקוֹם פּוֹרֶקֶן. Biblical Aramaic would require וְאָמַר (Dan 2 9). The super-linear vocalisation usually has אִמַּר and this form probably should be read here in the Kaddish. All three forms (Hebr. and Aram.) are written in unpointed texts וְאִמַּר.

אָמֵן properly Hebrew meaning 'verily, truly' BARTH, *N.B.* 5c. 7b. It is also a naturalised loan word in Aramaic and cannot therefore support the vocalisation וְאָמַר. As a response, it is used liturgically in the Old Testament⁷⁹ and, a fact of special interest here, to seal closing doxologies.⁸⁰ It was taken over very freely by the Christian Church and occurs 119 times in the New Testament. The Tanna R. Jose b. Zimra⁸¹ distinguishes three uses of אָמֵן: שְׁבוּעָה affirmation, קְבִלָּה acceptance and אֱמוּנָה faith. It was used constantly in daily life⁸² and in the synagogue service,⁸³ and great importance was attached to it as a response,⁸⁴ since it is equivalent to saying the whole blessing. Therefore every doxology required an אָמֵן from the congregation to complete it—the אָמֵן of קְבִלָּה, the reader prompting with וְאָמַר אָמֵן, the congregation responding אָמֵן.

⁷⁸ Or. 5,866 Add. 18,690 19,667 27,086 Laur. II 16, 52 etc.

⁷⁹ Deut 27 15–26 (12 times) 1 Kgs 1 36 Neh 5 13 Jer 11 5 28 6 Num 5 22 Neh 8 6.

⁸⁰ Ps 106 48 = 1 Chr 16 36: אָמֵן וְאָמֵן Ps 41 14 72 19 89 53.

⁸¹ J. Sota 25 18b³ Shebuoth 36a 23. Cf. ib. 29b Midr. Ps 89 4 Ps 106 end Deut. Rab. Ch 7 beginning, of R. Jehuda b. Simon. BACHER, *Agada der Paläst. Amoräer* I 112f. Jose b. Hanina.

⁸² The mosaic inscription of Kefr Kenna ends אָמֵן בְּרַכְתָּ אָמֵן LXXII, *Ephemeris* I 314.

⁸³ On the notice אָמֵן בְּמִקְדָּשׁ אָמֵן עוֹנִין אָמֵן see page 46 f.

⁸⁴ Ber 8 s 1 Cor 14 16 Vitry p. 97 Ber 53b₈ Ber 47a 21 DS. the manner of answering אָמֵן. Shab 119b Soferim 21 6 Midr Ps 31 s Sanh 110b₁ 111a¹, Alphabet of R. Akiba 1st recension JELL., *BH.*, III 27 (connected with Isa 26 2) the importance of אָמֵן.

יְהִי שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעָלְמָא וְלְעָלְמָא עָלְמָא

Great importance is attached to this response in the passages A B C D F (page 8f). In addition the following may be quoted (H) Ber 21b²¹ D. S.; the question in dispute is whether one who is saying the Shemone 'Esre should interrupt his recitation to give this response: **אֵיבְעִיָּא לְהוּ מַהוּ לְהַפְסִיק לִיהָא שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ? כִּי אַתָּא רַב דִּימִי אָמַר ר' יְהוּדָה ור"ש תַּלְמִידֵי דר' יוֹחָנָן אָמְרִי לְכָל אִין מַפְסִיקִין חוּץ מִן יְהִי שְׁמֵיהּ הַגְדוֹל מְבָרַךְ שְׁאִפִּילוּ עוֹסֵק בְּמַעֲשֵׂה מִרְכָּבָה (Ezek 1) פּוֹסֵק וְעוֹנָה וְלִית הַלְכָתָא כּוּוֹתִיָּה** "When the question was asked as to whether one should interrupt or not, R. Dimi reported a 2nd century tradition that one should interrupt the recitation of the Shemone 'Esre only for this response, for even the mystic study of the chariot (Ezek 1)¹ should be interrupted for it. The ruling however is not so." Further (I) (Ber 57a⁴) [בַּחֲלוּם] **יְהִי שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ** "It is a sure omen of salvation when one gives this response in a dream." And again (K) (Shab. 119b²⁶) **אָמַר ר' יְהוֹשֻעַ בֶּן לֵוִי כָל הָעוֹנָה יְהִי שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ בְּכָל כְּחוֹ קוֹרְעִין לוֹ גּוֹר דִּינוֹ שֶׁל שְׁבָעִים שָׁנָה . . . ר' חִיָּיא בֶר אָבָא אָמַר ר' יוֹחָנָן אָפִילוּ יֵשׁ בּוֹ שְׁמֵן שֶׁל עֲבוּדָה זָרָה מוֹחֲלִין לוֹ** "R. Joshua b. Levi says that the evil decree is annulled for him who utters this response with complete devotion. R. Yohanan adds that even if he has leant towards idolatry, he is forgiven."

The reason for this importance must be something more than the implied presence of the people in the synagogue and lecture room (Appendix B), and to get a clear idea of what this response is, it is necessary to go back a little.

The expression **יְהִי שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ** apparently means to use the Name of God in prayer, and the Talmud (Sota 10a¹), with true insight, understands **יְהִי שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ** (Gen 21 33) as **וַיִּקְרָא שֵׁם בָּשֶׂם ה'** 'he made others call upon and praise God.' This inducing others to utter

¹ The expression **יְהִי שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ** Ezek 1 and **יְהִי שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ** Gen 1 were made the subjects of mystical and theosophical speculation, that was to be entered into only by those exceptionally qualified, and then to be studied intensely and with the utmost care and gravity.

² Gen 4 26 12 8 13 4 21 33 etc.

was the second half of the verse **כִּי לְעוֹלָם חֲסִדוֹ** as in Ps 136.⁸ But from verse 5 onwards, the doubling of the verses seems to point to antiphonal recitation of the parallel verses [Appendix E p. 112]. Applying this last scheme to Psalm 113 we get the summons of the reader (**מְקַרָּא**) in verse 1 **ה' הִלְלוּ אֶת שֵׁם ה'** and in answer to this summons to praise God's Name, the response **יְהִי שֵׁם** **ה' מְבָרַךְ מַעֲתָהּ וְעַד עוֹלָם**. This verse, equivalent in substance to the Kaddish response, is of frequent occurrence in varying forms in the Old Testament. In 1 K 10 9 = 2 Chr 9 8 **יְהִי ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ בָרוּךְ** and Job 1 21 **יְהִי שֵׁם ה' מְבָרַךְ** we find traces of it, and in the opening of Daniel's prayer (Dan 2 20 cf. Tobit 9 5) the Aramaic form of it **לְהוּא שְׁמָהּ** **דִּי-אַלְהָא מְבָרַךְ מִן עֲלְמָא וְעַד עֲלְמָא**.

Further, in a well known Midrash on Jacob's blessing⁹, Jacob's sons are pictured as assuring him of their belief in God's unity in the words **שָׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ ה' אֶחָד** (Deut 6 4) to which he answers **יְהִי שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד**. In the old version preserved in the Targum, his response of praise is given in the Aramaic form **יְהִיא שְׁמִיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעַלְמֵי עַלְמִין**¹⁰. This shows the substantial unity of the Temple response **יְהִי שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד** with the response here in the Kaddish. **יְהִיא שְׁמִיהּ רַבָּא** = **שֹׁם יִקְרָא** (Dt 6 4 J I; note 10 supra), and **יְהִיא שְׁמִיהּ רַבָּא**, are, as we have seen (p. 30f.) simply substitutes for the Name of God. **יְהִיא שֵׁם כְּבוֹד** is used in the nearly related summons (Neh 9 5) **קוּמוּ וּבְרֹכוּ אֶת ה' אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִן הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם וַיְבָרְכוּ שֵׁם כְּבוֹדךָ . . .** (cf. Deut 28 58 **הַשֵּׁם הַנִּכְבָּד**). So **יְהִיא שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ**, correctly construed as "Blessed be His glorious sovereign Name",¹¹ is seen to be merely **יְהִיא שֵׁם כְּבוֹד ה'**, more generously strengthened with two words¹² in place of the usual one.¹³

⁸ Psalm 135 and 136 are the same Psalm constructed for two differing forms of response. Further 1 Chr 16 34 41 2 Chr 5 13 Ps 118 29.

⁹ Sifre Deut 6 4 p. 72b Pes 56a²⁰ Gen. Rab 98 to **וַיְהִי**, beginning, Tanhuma ib. p. 109a Deut. Rab 2 JELL., BH. II 73 Genesis 49 1 J II Deut 6 4 J I and J II.

¹⁰ Deut 6 4 J II **לְעַלְמֵי עַלְמִין**. **יְהִיא שְׁמִיהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעַלְמֵי עַלְמִין**. Gen 49 1 J I has the synonymous **יְהִיא שֹׁם יִקְרִיָּה** for **יְהִיא שְׁמִיהּ רַבָּא**. So Deut 6 4 J I **לְעַלְמֵי עַלְמִין**.

¹¹ Ges.-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gram.*²⁷ 135 n.

¹² Cf. **יְהִיא שֵׁם רַבָּא וְדִלְיָא**, **שְׁמָא רַבָּא וַיִּקְרָא**, **שְׁמָא רַבָּא וְקִדִּישָׁא** Ps 145 11 **כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתךָ**. p. 30f. Exod 33 22 **כְּבוֹדִי**.

¹³ **קִדִּישׁ** (קִדִּישׁ), **קִדִּישָׁא** (קִדִּישׁ), **יְהִיא שֵׁם רַבָּא** (נִדְוֹל) etc. Cf. L. Blau, *REJ.* XXXI 1895 p. 188f.

We are now in a position to see the identity of this response, at bottom made up of 3 parts¹⁴ (1) ברוך (2) ה' (3) לעולם, in the various liturgical passages in the Old Testament in which it occurs.

Temple Response	Kaddish	Dan 2 26	Ps 118 2	1 Chr 29 10	Ps 106 48 1 Chr 16 36	Ps 41 14	Ps 72 19	Ps 89 53
ברוך	יהא... מברך	להוא... מברך	יהי... מברך	ברוך אתה יהי	ברוך	ברוך	ברוך	ברוך
שם כבוד מלכותו	שמה רבא	שמה די אלהא	שם ה'	ה' אלהי ישראל אבינו	ה' אלהי ישראל	ה' אלהי ישראל	שם כבודו	ה'
לעולם ועד	לעלם ולעלמי עלמיא	מן עלמא ועד עלמא	מעתה ועד עולם	מעולם ועד עולם	מן העולם ועד העולם	מהעולם ועד העולם	לעולם	לעולם

Even the form of summons is sometimes of the same type: Ps 145 21 ועד לעולם (γ) שם קדשו (β) [כל בשר] (α) or Neh 9 5 ברכו (α) את ה' אלהיכם (β) (γ) מן העולם ועד העולם. It is here seen that all the doxologies closing the books of Psalms, perhaps also recited after every Psalm,¹⁵ are substantially the same, and that *this one type of blessing runs through the liturgical Psalms and prayers of the Old Testament*. It seems not improbable that a formula of this type may be meant by the enigmatic ברכת השיר (Pes 10 7) recorded as said over the Hallel, the meaning of which was no longer known to the Tannaim of the second century. The formula is a simple blessing of God(’s Name). In the Psalm doxologies it was said by the leader, the people responding (Ps 106 48 = 1 Chr 16 36 ואמר כל העם) with (ואמן) אמן. So too in the ancient fast day service¹⁶ the leader said the blessings or Psalms and closed with the doxology ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם (Ps 106 48 1 Chr 16 36) to which the congregation in the Temple answered שם כבוד ברוך שם כבוד, in the synagogues (ואמן) אמן.

The difference between the Temple and synagogue responses is due to the fact that within the Temple, the Tetragrammaton was spoken, outside its pronunciation was avoided. This prepares us for the fact which we learn from other sources,¹⁷ that ברוך שם

¹⁴ Similar to the frequent Palmyrene dedication לעלמא לעלמא. The Mechilta 16 p. 19b gives the response of the people as המבורך לעולם.

¹⁵ So GRAETZ, *MGWJ*. 1872 p. 481f.

¹⁶ T. Taan 1 10—14 215 26 ff. B. Taan 16b.

¹⁷ Yoma 38 4 1 2 62 Ta'an 2 5 T. Ta'an 1 10 f. 13 215 29 216 3. Mechilta l.c. Gen.

המבורך (p. 51). The custom that these verses were made to support was not regarded as tedious,²⁴ for various responses were given,²⁵ sometimes inordinately heaped up such as (TBER. 17 84) אבל הקדוש [ברוך הוא מלך מלכי המלכים ברוך הוא יהי שמו הגדול מבורך לעולם ולעולמי שנתגלה מלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך 4 180 or עולמים] אינו כן ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד was ברכו אַז ה' המבורך opening summons and ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (Sifre, Mechilta l.c.). The response in the grace after meals was ברוך המבורך DS. (Texts ברוך ומבורך, Tosafoth ברוך הוא ומבורך Ber 45b 7. The frequent designation המקום (Aboth 5 4), especially in the blessing ברוך המקום, has almost invariably ברוך הוא tacked on to it; and when it occurs without it, the praise was certainly added in actual recitation and is merely omitted in writing to avoid repetition, just as in early Church writings the doxology closing the Paternoster is often left to be supplied in reading, and as, according to GRAETZ (l. c.), doxologies were recited after each Psalm, but written only at the end of whole books. In this way we can explain the rare cases where קדוש or הקדוש occurs without an added praise.²⁶ It occurs with added praises as follows:

- (1) קדשא בריך הוא = הקדוש ברוך הוא
(blessed is, or rather blessed be He)
- (2) קדשא יהא שמיה מברך²⁷
- (3) קדשא בריך הוא יהא שמיה משובח²⁸
- (4) קדשא יהא שמיה מברך לעלמי²⁹
- (5) קדשא בריך הוא יהא שמיה רבא מברך ומשבח לעלם³⁰

²⁴ Deut 27 15—26. Cf. the 123 הללויה responses p. 44 note 7.

²⁵ Romans 1 25 and (?) 9 5.

²⁶ Exod 32 19 J I Num 23 20 J I Deut 32 3 J II Lam 3 38 Cant 4 11. In these cases however קדשא could be genitive in place of the adjective e.g. Deut 32 3 J II קדשא equal to שמיה קדשא as commonly in Aramaic. as פום קדשא in Exod 32 19 J I is the translation of the commonly occurring קדש פ' used to avoid ה' (See the examples collected by BACHER, ETT. 168f. and Addenda ETA. p. 254.) But for this also פ' הקב"ה occurs.

²⁷ Exod 20 2 3 J II Num 16 2 J I.

²⁸ Exod 15 18 J I 24 18 J I Num 21 34 J II Deut 3 2 J II.

²⁹ Exod 15 3 J I.

³⁰ Exod 20 2 J II.

From the variety of responses, Biblical and postbiblical, all of the same type, it is impossible to speak of a fixed custom. But the response in the Aggada seems to have been as a rule **יהא שמיא רבא מברך** [לעלם ולעלמי עלמיא]⁴⁰. The references to this response in the Talmud are to a well known and popular formula and the necessity is not felt of explaining what is meant by it. The passages A B E H I K L (pp. 8f. 43 and 50) may refer not alone to the final doxology but to the constant response given throughout an Aggadic address. The reference seems to be rather to a response that was frequent in the people's mouth than to the one final one as is always assumed. But where, as in C . . **יהא** and D F . . **יהי**, introduces it, the reference to the Kaddish found in these passages is probably correct.

According to the Sifre l. c. **מנן לאומר יהא שמיא** ר' יוסי אומר . . **מנן לאומר יהא שמיא** רבא מברך שעונים אחריהם לעולמי ולעולמי עולמים? תלמוד לומר כי שם ה' אקרא, the leader added the first half of the praise to an utterance of God's Name and the congregation followed it up with **לע' ולע' על'**. Assuming the text here to be correct,⁴¹ it would nevertheless seem that the *final* response in the Kaddish doxology was given in toto by the congregation, the leader prompting **אמן יהא שמיא רבא** and the congregation answering **אמן**.

There is no mention of God's Name in the Kaddish to occasion this response other than **יהא שמיא רבא**. The emphasis however is on this magnifying and hallowing of the Name through the redemption,⁴² and in response to this as a finale, the whole response is given in full by the assembled congregation. To magnify it above the other (less complete?) responses given throughout the discourse, the Midrashic amplification of it . . **יהא שמיא רבא** was added.

There is one more Talmudic reference to this formula. In *Succa* 39a² (L) Raba (280—352) says one should not separate

⁴⁰ Sota 49a²⁶ Compare also C D E F page 8 f.

⁴¹ Note however **אומר** (Sing.) and **אחריהם** (Pl.)—"after these mentions"?; Hebrew **לעולמי** (!) and **לעולמי עולמים** Aramaic **יהא שמיא רבא מברך**.

⁴² The intervening **מלכות** clause is not felt as interrupting; compare TBER. אבינו שבשמים, ששמינו כשמו ושמו נאה לו והכל שלו והכל מעשי ידיו יהי שמו הגדול 116 20 מבורך.

לא from ישר, but should utter the four words ישר"ם together: לימא אינש יהא שמיא רבא והדר מברך אלא יהא שמיא רבא מברך בהודי. This is apparently directed against a scheme of response: Reader יהא ש' ר' מברך לע' ול' על—Cong. יהא שמיא רבא of Akiba (Ber 7 3) ה' ברוכו את ה'. To these were preferred the schemes: Reader יה' ש' רב' מב' לע' ול' על—Cong. יהא ש' רב' מברך לעולם ועד—Cong. ברוך את ה' המבורך ⁴³ emphasising the importance of responding to the utterance of the Name.

The relationship of the Kaddish and the summons ברכו which we find as interchangeable in various passages ⁴⁴ is, as we now see, the relationship of their responses to each other. The two responses ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד and יה' ש' רב' מב' לע' ול' על are supported from Deut 32 3 in the same way, are similar in form and are responses to the mention of the divine Name. For the response ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד is *not* the answer to the summons to prayer, but a response to the utterance of the Name contained in the summons. ⁴⁵ These considerations help towards understanding the importance attached to these responses. ⁴⁶ *They not only imply the presence of the congregation in the synagogue or study house, but are the praise of God offered after every blessing, ⁴⁷ after every mention of His Name and after the final doxology of the lecture house.*

The response must, from the analogy of the various Biblical and Rabbinical forms adduced above, end at עלמא. ⁴⁸ Through a misconception and to preserve the number seven of 'the seven praises', many texts ⁴⁹ include also the יתברך of the following paragraph

⁴³ R. Ishmael Ber 7 3 Sifre l. c. Ber 50a ¹⁴.

⁴⁴ Soferim 10 8 p. 153 קריש בין ברכו בין קריש 188. The Akiba legend (Appendix B note 3 p. 102) where the son says ברכו או קריש. Compare the Kaddish like prayer added as a meditation to ברכו in almost all prayer manuals.

⁴⁵ The text of Sifre l. c. emphasising שם in Deut 32 3 makes this clear. This answers the doubt expressed by Dr. ELBOGÆN *JQR.* XIX 1907 p. 235.

⁴⁶ Shulhan Aruch Oraḥ Ḥayyim 56 3 (באר היטב): אמן יהא שמיא רבא עריף ממי: מנין שעונים אחר המבורך. ⁴⁷ Sifre l. c. מקרישה ומורים

⁴⁸ So Seadya, Asheri, Rashi, Mahzor Vitry, Maimonides, Kol Bo etc.

⁴⁹ Amram, Orḥoth Ḥayyim, Shulhan 'Aruch Oraḥ Ḥayyim 56 3, Spanish, many Yemen MSS. (Or. 1480 etc.). The legend in Derech Ereṣ Zutṭa as cited in Shibbole ha-Leṣeṭ 8. Ha-Manhig Ch. 4 etc. The Cabbalists Joseph Gikatilla, Baḥye ben Asher and Recanate quoted in Maṭṭeh Moshe 74.

in the response. This reading is construed as two sentences **יהא** **ולעלמי עלמיה** **יתברך** and **שמיה רבא מברך לעלם**. This is apparently the meaning of the reading **יהא שמיה רבא מברך לעלמא** **ולעלמי עלמיה** in a Genizah fragment,⁵⁰ and certainly that of the Italian⁵¹ and Provençal⁵² reading **יהא שמיה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמיה ולעלמי**. . . . **ישתבח** הוא. The Carpentras and Chinese rituals divide the words: **יהא שמיה רבא מברך**. **לעלם לעל' עלמ'** **יתברך** and the Mahzor Vitry⁵³ in understanding **יהא שמיה רבא מברך לעלם** (הבא) obscures the true meaning of the verse.

יהא Superlinear wrongly **יהא**, perhaps from the influence of the irregular **א**, (usually standing for *â*), in place of the expected Yod (from the root **יהא** not **היה** BARTH, *ES.* 1893 71f.) that as mater lectionis implies an *î* or *ê*. The **א** is perhaps also used here to avoid reading the Hebrew form **יהי**. Nabatean and Biblical Aramaic generally write *tertia* **א** in the 3rd sing. impf. of *tertia* **א**, **י** and **ו**. In later Aramaic **יהי** and **יהא** occur indifferently.

The superlinear texts read here **יהא**. In the paragraph **על יהוי שלמא** they read almost invariably **יהוי** (להון) and again **יהוי**. There is no apparent reason for this regularly occurring variation in form.⁵⁴

לעלם ולעלמי עלמיה Thus in the Kaddish response,⁵⁵ or without the connecting Vav. The readings **עלמין עלמיה** in Kohut's Yemen text⁵⁶ and **לעלמא** for **לעלם** in two Genizah fragments⁵⁷ and in the Yemen text of Maimonides' reading⁵⁸ are exceptional. The numerous variations shown above (p. 48f.) could easily be multiplied from

⁵⁰ GDK. 54.

⁵¹ LUZZATTO 40b. Or. 2736 Add. 18,280, 26,957, 27,072 etc. for the sabbath morning service.

⁵² Cod. GASTER 701.

⁵³ Tosafoth Ber 3a.

⁵⁴ **יהוי** and **יהי** (**יהא**) are quite similar in usage. Compare Onk. and J I to Gen 16 12 and 18 18 where **יהי** corresponds with **יהוי** and vice versa. Aramaic inscriptions show **יהוי**, **יהא** and **יהוא** LDZB. 259. The Biblical Aramaic form **יהוא**, occurring occasionally in the Targumim (Exod 22 24 J I, Ezek 41 6, Exod 10 28 J III, GINSB. (למחוי) is not found in Kaddish texts. On the forms see DG 264. 352 ff. NÖLD. *Mand.* p. 215 ff. § 166, p. 267 § 196. KÖNIG *ZDMG.* LI 1897, 332 et seq. BARTH *ES.* 1893 71 f. BEVAN, *Daniel* 35 f. etc.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ber 28b 23. Targ. Exod 15 3 J II.

⁵⁶ Targ. Ps 45 18.

⁵⁷ GDK. 53. 54 and Chinese MSS. Cf. Isa 45 17 Cod. Reuchl. Targ.

⁵⁸ Or. 2227 p. 18b.

Biblical usage,⁵⁹ Aramaic inscriptions,⁶⁰ the Targum⁶¹ and other sources. In view of these differences, the notice of the Mishna and Tosefta is instructive "עד עולם" היו שבמקדש כל חותמי ברכות שבתקדש היו "עד עולם" משקללו המינין ואמרו אין העולם אלא אחד התקינו שיהו אומרים "מן העולם ועד העולם".⁶² "The final words of the Temple blessings used to be 'for ever'; but in opposition to the sectaries who denied the existence of a second world, the formula was expanded to 'for ever and to all eternity.'" This notice can hardly be wholly true historically, as both the simple לעולם⁶³ and the fuller (ה)עולם (ו)עד (ה)עולם⁶⁴ occur in Biblical doxologies. The sectaries (מינין) meant must be Sadducees (or Samaritans?) as the existence of the Temple alone precludes any later reference. The Sadducee Sirach uses the form מעולם ועד עולם (39 20). But the oldest Samaritan texts have only לעולם.⁶⁵ The double reading however מעולם ועד העולם (T. Ta'an 1 11 215 28) used in the Temple is always reproduced traditionally in the Targum as מן עלמא הדין ועד עלמא דאתי. And a comparison of this notice of the Mishna and Tosefta with a passage like the Targ. to Isa 41 4 (אני ה' ראשון ואת אחרנים אני הוא) — אנא ה' ברית עֲלֵמָא — shows the transference of meaning from עֲלֵמָא eternity to עלמא world, and makes clear the traditional reference to the present eternity-world and the future world-eternity expressed in the formula לעלמא ועלמא עלמא . .

⁵⁹ Ps 72 19 90 2 41 14 145 2 etc. Dan 2 20 עלמא ועד עלמא Dan 7 18 עד עלמא ועד עלמא עלמא.

⁶⁰ Palmyrene עלמא. SAYCE-COWLEY Egyptian Aram. עלם 9 times. LDZB. 342 עלמא עלמא.

⁶¹ Isa 6 3 edd. לעלמא ועלמא עלמא. Cod. Reuchl. בעלמא עלמא. Abud. Amr. Sead. Kimhi עלמא עלמא. Abraham ibn Ezra לעלמא עלמא.

⁶² Ber. end. T. Ber. 7 21 17 8 חותמי is a noun, pl. cstr. of חותם, not of חותם. The Mishna text reads less suitably מעולם ועד העולם. ⁶³ Ps 72 19 89 53.

⁶⁴ Ps 41 14 106 48 1 Chr 16 36 29 10. Compare Dan 2 20.

⁶⁵ E. g. Add. 19,651 לעולם ועד לעולם ועד לעולם ועד לעולם ועד לעולם. HEIDENHEIM X Samarit. Liturgie Heft 1. GEIGER Urschrift 128 ff.

(1) יתברך (2) וישמחה (3) ויתפאר (4) ויתרומם (5) ויתנשא (6) ויתגדל
 (7) ויתעלה (8a) ויתהלל } שמה וקדשא בריך הוא לעלא מכל ברכתא שירתא
 (8b) ויתקלם }
 ויתשבתא ונתתא גאמין בעלמא ואמרו אמן.

Yemen reads 1 2 3 4 7 6 8a 5. Roman, Romania, Corfu and Provence 1 2 3 4 5 7 6 8a, and Chinese 1 2 3 4 7 5 6 8. Rashi, Yemen, Chinese, Roman and Provence לעלא לעלא and so German from the 1st to the 10th of Tishri.

Stripped of its richness of wording this paragraph may be reduced to *יתברך שמה וקדשא ב"ה לעילא מכל ברכתא*, and it is seen to be a florid Midrashic working out of the response *הא שם רב* יתגדל, apparently suggested in form by the opening words *יתקדש*, intended to magnify the finale and make it more impressive.

This paragraph is therefore younger than its original. PHIL. BLOCH¹ dates it from the Gaonic period, the style, according to him, pointing decidedly to the mystics known as the *מרכבה* as the authors of this addition. In proof of his theory he refers to the manual of these mystics—the work *היכלות רבתי*² that contains many passages of heaped up synonyms of praise more or less similar to those in this paragraph.³ Their relationship cannot be gainsaid. But in the *היכלות רבתי* they show a mystic extravagance and unclearness of expression that is foreign to the Kaddish paragraph. Many of them are expansions of expansions like the acrostic one in Amram (I 3b). *מי לא יאדיר למלך האדיר. מי לא יברך למלך המברך. מי לא ירומם למלך המרומם. מי לא יתהדר למלך המהדר. מי לא ימליך למלך המלכים* and as such betray themselves as belonging to a very late stage of the tendency.

¹ MGWJ. XXXVII 1893 p. 264 et seq.

² JELL. BH. III 83—108.

³ E. g. Ch. 16 s p. 95 ונתנין כבוד; Ch 247 p. 102 ירוממו; Ch 266 p. 103 ותפארת וגדלה למוטרוסא "ה לפניך יברכו לפניך ישבחו לפניך יפארו לפניך ירוממו; Ch 72 p. 89, 12 s p. 92 . . לפניך יודו . . . תתאדר תתהדר תתרום תתנשא תתפאר תתברך תשתבח תתגדל תתקדש תתעלה תתעלו תתקלם . . . (slightly varying in a Genizah fragment published by GASTER GDK. 240); Ch. 24 p. 102 תתנשא נא, תתנבר על כל יצורים, תתנבר על כסא כבוד, תתיקיר על כלי חסדתך, תתברך בכל הברכות, תשתבח בכל התושבחות, תתהלל בכל ההילול, תתקלם בכל . . . הרגנות, תתגדל לעולמים, תתקדש עדי עד . . .

to say nothing of Biblical examples¹⁰ such as מְשַׁבֵּחַ וּמְרוֹמֵם וּמְהַרֵּר, ¹¹ לך ה' הגדלה והנבירה והתפארת והנצה וההוד . . . לך ה' 1 Chr 29 11 . . . הממלכה והמתנשא לכל לראש. The very maxim of R. Meir (139—165). "few should be לעולם יהיו דבריו של אדם מועטין לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא" (Ber 61a ¹ Eccl 5 1), of R. Yohanan (Job 37 20) המספר בשבתו של הקב"ה יותר מדאי נעקר מן העולם שנאמר "he who gives God immoderate praise, destroys himself" and other similar sayings, must be understood as showing that the opposite tendency was prevalent, and against it they warn.

The Mishna Pesahim 10 5 in our Babylonian editions contains the following words לפיכך אנתנו חייבים להודות להלל לשבח לפאר לרומם לפרוך לברך לעלה ולקלם . . . לנצל ולנצה. RABBINOWICZ in his *Dikduke Soferim* mentions other old readings, but all are agreed in reading heaped up praises usually seven or eight in number.¹² This Mishna has practically the same tradition as our paragraph, since להודות cannot be turned into the Hithpael without giving it the meaning of "confess"¹³, and יתברך, corresponding with לברך, is in the Kaddish transposed to the beginning, as being the connecting link of the whole paragraph.

From these and similar examples, it is clear that the Gaonic mystics, the יורדי מרכבה are not to be held as the authors of this paragraph. In the language of the mystics there is an unvarying tradition, and the two works with the most frequent echoes of the seven praises are the mystic היכלות רבתי containing many old elements and TBER. and Z. also containing many very early traditions,

¹⁰ Page 27 note 5 doubled expressions in Daniel. This heaping of synonyms of praise is very common in apocryphal works e. g. The Song of the three Holy Children and in the early Church liturgy. CARL MICHEL *Gebet und Bild in früh-christlicher Zeit* Leipzig 1902 p. 3. Apostolic Constitutions VIII 35. Even the prayer book of the Falashas shows the same style—JOSEPH HALÉVY Paris 1876 p. 21.

¹¹ Daniel 4 34. In Daniel, the earliest extant work of the mystic school, expressions of all kinds heaped up 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 or 8 fold are a marked feature of the style e. g. 2 27 4 4 5 7 11 magicians; 3 1 3 27 6 8 satraps (compare Jer 51 57); 3 4 7 29 31 5 19 6 26 7 14 peoples; 3 5 7 10 15 musical instruments; 2 37 4 33 7 27 kingdom; 5 11 14 wisdom; 5 4 23 gold etc. 3 21 clothes; etc.

¹² Tosafoth to Pesahim ib. Amram.

¹³ 2 Chr 30 22 is questionable; and if it does not mean confess, it has at least a semi-active meaning "to give thanks", here unsuitable. In Rabbinical Hebrew the Hithpaal always means confess.

so that this heaping seems to be a special characteristic of the mystics as BLOCH has pointed out. The origin of Jewish mysticism is usually traced back to the Essenes and the literature of the cosmogony, angelology, esoteric speculation and mysticism in general took its rise among them. We are therefore justified in seeking *the origin of this paragraph among the mystics, most probably among those who followed and carried on the traditions of the old Essenes, the predecessors of the Gaonic יורדי מרכבה*. Many prominent Rabbis belonged more or less to this (Essenic) mystic school, such as R. Simeon b. Yohai and Joshua b. Levi, and there is nothing against seeking the origin of this paragraph somewhere between the second and fourth centuries of the common era.

The Hebrew form *יתגדל ויתקדש וישתבח ויתפאר* ¹⁴ על הכל reads *יתגדל ויתקדש וישתבח ויתפאר*, the order of the terms agreeing with that in the Roman ritual (Shibbole ha-Leḳet), the Yemen tradition and the Genizah fragment (GDK. 53). Out of two dozen instances taken from TBER. and *היכלות רבתי* and *ברך* and *שבח* are coupled 18 times, *גדל* and *קדש* 11 times. Very many prayers both old and more modern contain echoes of these praises, often in a Midrashically expanded form.¹⁵ In the prayer book examples¹⁶ *ישתבח ויתפאר ויתרומם* is a traditional order.

In the early middle ages fanciful explanations were given to the numbers of the terms of praise whether reckoned as seven,¹⁷ eight¹⁸ or ten¹⁹ (including *יתקדש ויתגדל*). In the Kaddish the praises are usually joined with Vav.²⁰

¹⁴ Page 18, Soferim 14 12 text as edit. MÜLLER.

¹⁵ E. g. in the grace after meals *הרחמן הוא יתברך בשמים ובארץ הרחמן הוא ישתבח* לדור דרים ויתפאר בנו לנצח נצחים ויתהדר בנו לעד ולעולמי עולמים.

¹⁶ תתברך צורנו, *Amram I 2b*, *Amram I 27b*, *Vitry 154*, *במקהלות* *Amram I 27 b* etc.

¹⁷ *Amram*, and most authorities follow him, connects them with the 7 heavens.

¹⁸ *Mahzor Vitry*, *Orhoth Hayyim*, *Kol Bo* equivalent to the 7 heavens and the expanse above the *Hayyoth*. Differently Eleazar of Worms, the 8 words of Moses.

¹⁹ The 10 words (מאמרות) by which the world was created (*Aboth 5 i*), *Rashi*, *Shibbole ha-leḳet* (*Zedekiah b. Abraham*). Differently his brother *Benjamin*: God's 10 garments of justice and vengeance.

²⁰ In the old Genizah fragment (GDK. 53) only the last two are connected with Vav. So too Yemen Ms. Or. 2227 (1540 CE.) p. 18 b. Or. 2418. Cod. GASTER 321.

It is impossible to regard the words as anything but Hebrew.²¹ Almost all old authorities recognise their Hebrew character and many are at pains to account for the change from Aramaic.²² Abudarham gives the reason quite correctly that these words cannot be forced to take on an Aramaic dress לשוננו ללשון—כי השבח לא הו' יכולין לשנותו ללשון—even though we find passages like וישתבח שמי' (Vitry p. 172). דמריה כולא (Vitry p. 172). ויתעלה and יתנשא are purely Hebrew forms; יתהדר can only mean "to return, go around" etc. in Aramaic, and יתהלל and יתפאר are not used in Aramaic at all. The Ithpaals are used, as often the Nithpaal, as the usual new-Hebrew passive. Probably under Aramaic influence the Hithpaal form, preserving the original *a* vowel that is very common in classical Hebrew,²³ is used as far as we can tell from early punctuated new-Hebrew texts almost to the exclusion of the Hithpaal, especially, as here, in cases of words in rapid connection. It is as unnecessary then to point with many editions יתברך, יתפאר etc. as it would be to point ישתבח. Most of the old MSS. and editions point the words as pausal, although for what reason it is difficult to see, unless it be to ensure their deliberate recitation.

יְתַבְרַךְ! Amr. Maim. and many MSS. treat it²⁴ as part of the response requiring an אמן after it. Vitry etc. read יתברך.

יִשְׁתַּבַּח in Biblical Hebrew apparently late and borrowed from Aramaic.²⁵ The usual Targ. to יתפאר and יתהלל is ישתבח. It is here used as the pass. of the Pael "to be lauded", not as "to boast".

יִתְפַּאֵר a favourite root in Ben Sirach (48 4 50 20 ...). It is nowhere used as Aramaic. BARTH *E. S.* 21.

יִתְפַּלֵּל Ithpalal, Hebrew, but in Aramaic not necessarily a Hebraism—Dan 4 34 (11 35).²⁶ BARTH *E. S.* 14. This word is almost

²¹ BAER treats them as Aramaic, as did Solomon b. Adereth.

²² Rashi Pardes, Mahzor Vitry (p. 8) explain the change into Aramaic after them as an avoidance of the שם in Hebrew. So ארתות חיים and כל כן which also, as Rashi, give as a reason of their being in Hebrew that there is no occasion to conceal these praises from the angels. ²³ Ges.-KAUTZSCH²⁷ § 54 k.

²⁴ Also Shulhan Aruch Oraḥ Hayyim 56 2. Isserles ib. Tur Oraḥ Hayyim 56.

²⁵ So KAUTZSCH, *Aramäismen im Alten Testament* p. 87. On the Rabbinical use of שבח BACHER, *ETA.* 212.

²⁶ NÖLDEKE, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1884 1016.

always pointed ויתרום in old MSS. e. g. Amram Or. 1067, and the editions.

ויתנשא perhaps coupled with ויתרום under the influence of Isa 33 10 עתה ארום עתה אנשא and Isa 6 1 57 15. ונשא

ויתקל usually pointed ויתקל.

ויתקל So Amram, Seadya and SCHECHTER's Genizah fragment (GDK. 53). Later texts ויתהלל. Cf. Mishna Pes. 10 5 לקל (p. 56). From a responsum of Abraham Maimonides²⁷ we learn that his father Moses preferred ויתהלל to ויתקל. In Amram's time already the custom varied and he notes that while some say ויתקל, others do not. The reason for the change from ויתקל was because of its double meaning.²⁸ In Biblical Hebrew the verb קלם and its derivatives means only to mock, scorn, scoff, and קלם 'derision' is always parallel to תרפה. In Ben Sirach too (11 4) it bears the same meaning, but also (probably) in the Piel to sing praises ותקלם שירה 47 15. In Rabbinical Hebrew the verb is commonly used in the sense of to jump, leap, spring²⁹ and very commonly in the sense of to praise, sing praises³⁰, as in Aramaic;³¹ and as long as Aramaic was the ruling language, this latter meaning would

²⁷ Beginning of the מעשה רוקח הרמבם, 51b. c.

²⁸ Ha-Manhig (Tefilla 28).

²⁹ See the *Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde d. Morgenlandes* XVII 1903 p. 165 ff. Prof. A. BÜCHLER.

³⁰ J. Shab. 16, 15c³⁴ Sof. 16 11 (p. 222) the 147 Psalms of the book of Psalms connected by GRAETZ (Psalmen p. 9) with the triennial circle of reading the Pentateuch, are called קילסין ישראל מלסין להקב"ה. Midr. Ps 89 1 p. 381 טי שיקלסין . . לברך ולקלם לבוראו. Ber. Rab. 11, Yalkut II 835, 941. Sota 40a 26 ויתקלם עילא. PR. El. 3 etc. etc. BACHER *ETA*. 190 f.

³¹ BÜCHLER l. c. finds the root meaning of קלם in the signification "leap, jump". From the leaping at weddings or funerals that accompanied words of praise he derives the meaning "praise", and from stamping the foot, that of "scorn, deride" etc. He thus rejects the usual derivation of קלם praise from the Greek—PAYNE SMITH κλέος fame, LEVY *TWB*. κλεῖζω, FLEISCHER, *Nachtrag to Levy TWB*. 576, KOHUT, *Aruch*, FRÄNKEL, *Aram. Fremdwörter* 284, DALMAN, *Gram.* 183 αλαῖς, αλαός, KRAUSS, *Griech. u. Lat. Lehnwörter im Talmud* II 547 κελεῦσαι, WELLMANN (quoted by BEVAN) a denominative from κληῖς. A. A. BEVAN agreeing with LEVY *NHWB*., compares the double meaning of קלם (GESENIUS, *Brown Lexicon*) praise, and Syriac Afel ܠܩܠܡܐ mock, both from the root meaning to cry out. *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet* 1906, Vol. 1, p. 581 f.

present itself first. Later when Aramaic was no longer the vernacular, the Biblical meaning was again brought to the front; and in scrupulous avoidance of all ambiguity, ויתקלם was not allowed to stand and was replaced by ויתהלל. Yehudai Gaon (760 C. E.) (Shibbole ha-Lekeṭ) preferred ויתהלל on this account. Amram however defends ויתקלם denying that the Biblical use is exclusively unfavorable. It is purely a *dernier ressort* when Hai Gaon [939—1028] gives to ויתקלם the meaning "behelmed".³²

ויתהלל as in Prov 31 30 the passive of the Piel, not to boast. Old MSS. and many editions ויתהלל.

שְׁמָהּ דְּקִדְשָׁא בְּרִיךְ הוּא. On בְּרִיךְ הוּא see above p. 48. One of SCHECHTER's Genizah fragments (GDK. 53) reads שְׁמוֹ שֶׁל מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמַּלְכִּים בְּרוּךְ הוּא The designation קודשא ב"ה is the customary Aramaic equivalent of הקדוש ב"ה, the Aramaic term using the abstract noun "Holiness", as the abstracts שְׁכִינָה, שְׁכִינָתָא, etc. are used as names of God, the Hebrew the adjective noun "the Holy One", based on Biblical usage such as קדוש ישראל, similarly to the adjectives עליזה (Biblical Aram. עֲלִיָּזָה), רחמנא etc.³³ In designations of God compounded with של עולם, של עולמך, etc. is sometimes joined with an abstract noun such as כבודו של עולם, sometimes with an adj. such as עשירי של ע, מוכתו של ע, רומי של ע, מרומי של ע, צדיקו של ע, עתיקו של ע, עשירו של ע, יחידו של עולם.³⁴

קדשא בְּרִיךְ הוּא as a Name of God is of very frequent occurrence³⁵, and it is here impossible to split it up construing as two sentences . . . ויתהלל שְׁמָהּ דְּקִדְשָׁא בְּרִיךְ הוּא לעילא מכל ברכתא . . . as several prescribe.³⁶ For Seadya and Maimonides prescribe אמן after בְּרִיךְ הוּא, and the paragraph is ultimately based on Neh 9 5 ויברכו שֵׁם

³² a helmet, FLEISCHER l. c., KRAUSS l. c. p. 507 ἄστρον; LEVY TWB. D. Gr. 186 κράς. BÜCHLER *REJ* LIV 1907 p. 194-199 thinks ויתקלם is the Palestinian reading, adopted in the academy at Sura, but rejected at Pumbeditha.

³³ Compare ὁ εὐλογητός Mark 14 61.

³⁴ E. LANDAU, *Die dem Raume entnommenen Synonyma für Gott*, Zürich 1888 p. 6 et seq. gives 57 Rabbinical designations of God. On קודשא ב"ה (הקדוש ב"ה) SCHÜRER, *Jahrbuch f. Protest. Theologie* II 1876, p. 171.

³⁵ E. g. Sanh 39a₁₅, Ber 3b₁₁ 7a₁₈, Keth 77b₁₇, JI Gen 22 1 25 21. Num 21 34. Deut 1 1. Burial Kaddish.

³⁶ quoted by Shulhan Aruch Oraḥ Ḥayyim 56 7 and Isserles to Tur ibid. followed by BAZER, *Abodath Israel* p. 130.

במקלות: as is the parallel passage in כבוד ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה לעלה ולקלם על כל דברי שירות ותשבחות דוד בן ישי . . . Moreover alone occurs very exceptionally (e. g. Deut 32 3 JII) even though קודשא is, in accordance with Aramaic idiom, usually used with ד as a Genitive instead of the adjective קדישא. In such cases too בריך הוא or some such response was almost certainly added in actual recitation. The sense of the passage is obviously יתברך ישתבח שמיא דקב"ה לעילא amplified by לעילא מכל ברכתא מכל תושבתתא.

לְעִילָא in the Hebrew versions למעלה. לעילא³⁷ is better than עִילָא³⁸ or עִילָא³⁹ in pointed texts. לעילא לעילא of Rashi, the Roman or Yemen rites is better than the form often found ולעילא in spite of the Genizah fragment (GDK. 53) למעלה ולמעלה. Compare Deut 28 43 מעלה מעלה in the Targum לעילא לעילא. MS. Add. 27,086 reads לעילא, once לעילא with the א crossed out.

מְקַל or מְקַל or מְקַל is quite as differently used in the old versions as in Biblical Aramaic where מְקַל and מְקַל occur together Dan 4 22, and מְקַל and מְקַל occur together in the one verse Ezra 6 14. On the whole however מְקַל in Biblical Aramaic is more often unassimilated. According to DALMAN (*Gr.* 227) מְקַל in the Palest. Talmud and Midrashim often remains unassimilated, so also in the Jerus. Targumim. In Onkelos, according to MS. Socin 74 מְקַל is almost without exception assimilated, but never in קרם, מְקַל, and in Mandaic⁴⁰ the ך is not assimilated—at least orthographically not.

ברכתא—see on ונתתא p. 62.

שִׁירְתָּא וְתִשְׁבְּחָתָא belong intimately together. Hence שִׁירְתָּא, not שִׁירְתָּא וְתִשְׁבְּחָתָא—שִׁירְתָּא וְתִשְׁבְּחָתָא is a usual expression for Psalms.⁴¹ שִׁירְתָּא וְתִשְׁבְּחָתָא becomes in the Targum שִׁירְתָּא וְתִשְׁבְּחָתָא, while

³⁷ Dan 6 3. Nabatean (Lpzb. 341) Egyptian Aramaic SAYCE-COWLEY A. 5 10 11 13 etc. Several MSS. e. g. Add. 26,954.

³⁸ Most MSS. and almost all editions. Targum Sabionetta etc. DALMAN.

³⁹ Amram Ms. Or. 1067. Or. 2736, 2389. Add. 18,230.

⁴⁰ NÖLDEKE, *Mand. Gram.* § 158.

⁴¹ Of David Ber 3b₁₇ 7b₂₄ Sanh 92b₇ Midr. Ps 22 1 p. 180. Of Solomon Targ. Cant 1 1 4 11 Midr. Ps 22 1 p. 180. Biblical תפלות e. g. Ps 72 20. Cf. Mechilta to Exod 15 1 p. 34a, Tanhuma ibid. HARKAVY, *Responsen der Geonim* 30 f.

שיר appears regularly as תושבתתא, תושבתתא⁴² which are also the regular Targum equivalents for מוזמר, often for תהלה⁴³ and even for תודה⁴⁴ למננה⁴⁵ גנינת⁴⁶ etc. Both words are therefore used synonymously for every kind of song of praise.

Seadya reads תושבתתא. See on פָּרָקָן p. 37. תושבתתא of many editions is a vulgarism, perhaps, as Dr. GASTER suggests, here assimilated to the preceding vowel of שִׁירָתָא. The change of *u* to *ü* (*i*) occurred dialectically in old Arabic, and occurs occasionally, e. g. in Palestine, in vulgar dialects to day.⁴⁷ It may perhaps be compared with the form דְּכִרְוִנָּה Ezra 6 2 as contrasted with דְּכִרְנָא Ezra 4 15 and the Tagum form דְּכִרְנָא. Compare also סומפניה (συμφωνία, symphonia) Dan 3 5 15 occurring beside סיפניה in the Kethibh (סופניה Q're) Dan 3 10 and the Neo Hebrew and Aramaic form טימפון (tube) [Palmyrene Tariff טפון, Syriac ܬܦܢܐ]. On תושבתתא BARTH NB. § 190 d.

נְהַמְתָּא . . . נְהַמְתָּא⁴⁸ is better than נְהַמְתָּא⁴⁹ or נְהַמְתָּא⁵⁰ or נְהַמְתָּא⁵¹. The word here cannot mean consolations offered to God, although the medieval commentators interpreted it so with the aid of various Midrashim.⁵² Nor have we any authority to correct the reading to נעמתא, נהמתא or to anything else.⁵³ With as little suc-

⁴² JI Exod 15 1 Num 21 17 שִׁירָא equals שִׁירָתָא.

⁴³ Ps 51 17 100 4 106 47 145 1 149 1. ⁴⁴ Ps 42 5. Compare Jonah 2 10.

⁴⁵ Ps 11 1 54 1. ⁴⁶ Ps 55 1 61 1 76 1

⁴⁷ WRIGHT, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages*. Cambridge 1890 p. 77. DALMAN's *Grammar* 171 and 87 and older literature there given.

⁴⁸ Amram Or. 1067, REUCHLIN, MERX, DALMAN, Yemen.

⁴⁹ BAER just as טַעַם Dan 6 3 ed. BAER, etc.

⁵⁰ Many editions e. g. LANDSHUTH.

⁵¹ JASTROW, many editions.

⁵² Rashi in Shibbole ha-Lekeṭ, Nissahon § 113 understand praises offered for consolations about to be given. Hai Gaon, Mahzor Vitry, the Zohar to שופטים refer it to the comforts of the future when God's Name will be perfect. Rashi Pardes (ed. Amsterdam p. 7b), Orhoth Hayyim, Tur Oraḥ Hayyim 56 etc. refer to the comfort of the Midrash Ber 3 a (B. p. 8).

⁵³ Even המנות, 'Hymns' (!) has been suggested by Z. F. Vidaver in Hamagid 33, 1889 p. 11. It is well known that the gutturals were locally smoothed out so as to be all of the character of the מ. Cf. FRANKEL, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* 1841 p. 101, 110. Mechilta to Exod 12 13 p. 8a ופסחתי is explained by ופסחתי. Sifre to Deut 32 24 p. 137b בהמות is interpreted by בהמות (BACHER ETT. 175). In Erub. 53b 11 the cry of a Galilean (למאן אמר) is understood as תמר, תמר, תמר, אומר or עמר.

cess PHIL. BLOCH⁵⁴ tries to prove it a strict synonym of ברכתא שירתא היכלות רבתי occurring otherwise in this meaning only in p. 101. There is there attributed to God in a list of over 80 attributes . . . נחת מנוחה ונחמה שלוח השקט ושלום שאנן במח. The word here, if it means anything at all—and the text of היכלות רבתי is notoriously very imperfectly preserved—must in connection with its neighbouring words obviously be a synonym for “rest, peace, quietness”. This it cannot mean; and it is either inserted as inappropriately as many other words in the list, for the anagrammatic play on מנוחה, or is more simply still a corruption of מנוחה.

נחמתא, in addition to its general meaning of comfort, consolation for mourning and sorrow, often means the comfort of the future Messianic life. Gen 49 1 JII נחמתא ונחמתא קץ means this. In the Targum to Isa 18 4 God promises to bring בירכן וניחמן upon Israel. So too in Joel 2 14 Targ. the repentant sinner will receive וניחמן. In a similar sense of the future promise נחמן מכן often occur together.⁵⁵

נחמתא in the sense of the Messianic comfort again often seems to be identified chronologically with the resurrection.⁵⁶ Hosea 6 2 יחיננא ליומי becomes in the Targum נחמתא דעתידין למתי ביום אחיות מתיא יקימנא. Among the seven things hidden from man are הניחמה ויום המיתה ויום.⁵⁷ But נחמתא is more often used generally of the comforts of the Messianic promise, just as the Messiah is called מנחם Sanh 98 b 3.⁵⁸ Jer 31 5, 2 Sam 23 4 מחמדן לשני נחמתא דאתין. The leviathan and his mate are being kept ליום נחמתא Gen 1 21 JI, 2 Sam 23 1 speaks of ליום נחמתא. נחמתא דעתידין למתי Taan 11a¹⁵ אל יראה בנחמת הצבור, a formula of cursing, perhaps also belongs here.

The oath אראה בנחמה “may I not see the comfort if . . .” in the

⁵⁴ MGWJ. XXXVII 266.

⁵⁵ Gen 45 28 J I and II J. Sanh. 10, 28 b 33 Num 23 23 J II.

⁵⁶ But not as MEX, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, NESTLE, *Philologica Sacra* 5 Note 2 on philological grounds. Cf. Peshitta John 11 24.

⁵⁷ Pes. 54b 2 Mechilta to בשלח Exod 16 32 p. 51a. Gen Rab 65 to Gen 27 2 Yalkut 114.

⁵⁸ J. Ber 2 4 5a 14 notes that the חושבנא—the numerical value—of מנחם (138) is the same as that of צמח, also a name of the Messiah. See p. 37 note 61.

mouth of Simeon b. Shetaḥ (fl. 90—76 B. C.)⁵⁹ or of his contemporary Jehuda b. Tabḥai⁶⁰ would also seem to refer to the comfort of the future life. On the other hand when said by R. Eleazar b. Zadok (fl. 2nd cent. C. E.)⁶¹ the consolation of Jerusalem is probably meant. This special consolation is often the meaning of נַחֲמָתָא: Isa 33 20 יְהוֹי בְּנַחֲמַת יְרוּשָׁלַם, עֵינֶיךָ יְהוֹיִן בְּנַחֲמַת יְרוּשָׁלַם, Isa 4 3 יְהוֹי בְּנַחֲמַת יְרוּשָׁלַם. Compare Isa 51 3, J. Ber. 5 8d²² עֵינֶיךָ יְהוֹיִן בְּנַחֲמַת יְרוּשָׁלַם.⁶²

But נַחֲמָתָא here can mean neither ordinary comforts for mourning, nor the consolation of Jerusalem; neither the comforts of the Messianic time, nor of the resurrection. It is used here in the *transferred meaning of "glorifying consolations", books, prophecies, sermons, praises, songs etc. containing and dealing with these future comforts*. The passages themselves are called נַחֲמָתָא from their chief contents. Thus in Ber 48b²⁰ the passage רַחֵם (נַחֵם) in the grace after meals is called נַחֲמָתָא. In the arrangement of the canonical books, books dealing with calamity are put together and books with the note of consolation are made to follow one another: יְשַׁעְיָהוּ כֹלִיָּה B. B. 14b¹⁰. Again סְמִינָא חֹרֶבְנָא לְחֹרֶבְנָא וְנַחֲמָתָא לְנַחֲמָתָא, the book of Isaiah is one long paean of consolation (Targ. to Isa 40 1). In 2 Macc 15 9 occurs "he comforted them out of the law and the prophets; (ver. 11) armed with *comfortable* and good words". Messianic prophecies, especially those of Isaiah⁶³ were called נַחֲמָתָא and these, read as the הַמְּפָרָה, became particularly identified with נַחֲמָתָא.⁶⁴

נַחֲמָתָא, or rather וְנַחֲמָתָא בְּרַכְתָּא, therefore, here means the praises and Messianic consolations brought by the preacher in his Aggada. R. Levi and R. Isaac (4th cent.) complain of the neglect of the

⁵⁹ T. Sanh 8 3, 427 19 Sanh 37b⁹ Shebu 34a¹⁸ Macc 5b¹⁶.

⁶⁰ Hag 16b⁸ J. Sanh 6, 28b³.

⁶¹ Keth 67a⁵. Cf. Matt 5 35 b.

⁶² See p. 84 note 33.

⁶³ כָּל הַנְּחֻמֹּת שֶׁאִמְרֵי יְשַׁעְיָהוּ 1 BB 14b¹⁰. Tanḥuma to Deut. 1 יְשַׁעְיָהוּ כֹלִיָּה נַחֲמָתָא. כָּפְלִים הֵם. Cf. Isa 40 2.

⁶⁴ On the meaning of נַחֲמָתָא SCHWALLY, *Idioticon d. christl. paläst. Aram.* 54f, MEXX, *Chrestomathia Targumica*. DWJ. 71. RAPOPORT כְּרִם חֲפֵר III 45. 'Erech Millin art. אִנְרֵה p. 8 col. 2 followed by ZUNZ G V. 335 note f. 372 note f. DAVID OPPENHEIM in KOBAK'S *Jeshurun* 4 p. 57—63. K. KOHLER Appendix to KOHUT'S Aruch p. 59. GRAETZ MGWJ. 1872 486f. PLESSNER לְבָנִים מִן לְבָנִים p. 71.

i. e. ועבשו . . . אין מבקשין לשמע אלא דברי ברכות ונחמות ⁶⁵ Halacha. Aggada in contrast with Halacha. ברכות is here used in the specialized sense of the praises of the Aggada as in ⁶⁶ כותבי ברכות שורפי תורה . . . מעשה באחד שהיה כותב ברכות . . . אמר ר' יהושע בן לוי הרי אנגדתא הכותבה . . . אנא מן יומאי לא אסתכלית גו ספר דאנגדתא. All four expressions שירתא ותושבחתא and ברכתא . . . ונחמתא may thus originally have referred to the Aggada of the preacher. מצינו בנביאים הראשונים ⁶⁷ שהיו חותמין את דבריהם בדברי שבה ובדברי נחמות and the sense of the whole paragraph is that God is praised and exalted far above all the praises and glorifying words that can be uttered in this world.

דאמירן בעלמא דאמירן in conscious contrast to בעלמא דאתי as Cant. 1 1 Targ. עסרתי שירתא איתאמרו בעלמא הדין. In the burial Kaddish as given by Rashi ⁶⁸ it is expanded to דאמירן בעלמא הדין ודאיתאמרון בעלמא דאתי. The perf. דאיתאמרון or דאיתאמרון can give sense only by referring to the praises ⁶⁹ and songs ⁷⁰ of the angels, but it does not suit בעלמא דאתי. Perhaps either דאיתאמרון 'that will be said', or at least דאיתאמרון is the more correct reading. The Perf. 3rd pl. fem. sometimes ends in -ן in the Jer. Targ., sometimes, as in Onkelos in -א (DG. 255). The Ithpeel is better than the Ithpaal.

ואמרו אמן See above pp. 41f.

תתקבל צלותהון ובעיתיהון דכל-בית ישראל קדם אבוהון דבשמיא ואמרו: אמן So Amram I 13b, Vitry 64. Old Castilian, Abudarham, Old Roman, Genizah. With בית modern Spanish and Roman. Tripoli ¹ reads צלותנא ובעיתנא. Carpentras ² and Lille ³ as Tripoli adding

⁶⁵ Cf. Pesikta 12 p. 101b ed. Buber, Cant. Rab. to 2 5 p. 15b. Soferim 16 4.

⁶⁶ J. Shab 16 1 15c ³⁴ Shab 61b ¹⁷ 115b ⁴ Soferim 15 4 16 10 Temurah 14 b. Cf. Exod Rab 47 7.

⁶⁷ J. Ber 5 8d ²⁷ Ber 31a ²⁸ T. Ber. 3 21 8 10 and text notes. Pesikta 116a כל הנביאים פתחו בחובות פתחו בדברי תוכחות וחתמו בדברי נחמות וסיימו בנחמות.

⁶⁸ Mahzor Vitry p. 247.

⁶⁹ Ps 103 20 148 2 Gen 32 27 JI etc.

⁷⁰ Ps 19 2 Job 38 7 Megil 10b 7, Hag 14a ¹⁰ etc. Apostol. Constitut. II 56.

¹ Quoted by Mordecai b. Hillel of Nürnberg, d. 1298, to Taanith 635.

² Add. 19,667. The printed edition reads as the Spanish and Roman rites.

³ MS. GASTER 164.

אָבוֹנָא בית, with Corfu⁴ so, omitting עם צלותהון ובעותהון דכל בית . . .
for אבוהון.

תתקבל צלותהון ותתעבד בעותהון וצלותהון ובעותהון דכל בית ישראל קדם
Maimonides.⁵ Yemen and Chinese read for the first
בעותהון and so בעותכון for בעותהון. For בעותהון ובעותהון also
appears in Yemen texts עם צלותהון ובעותהון or עם בעותהון and אָבוֹנָא
regularly for אבוהון. Cingalese-Cochin in the elaborate Kaddish reads
תתקבל צלותכון ותתעבד בעותכון: אמן: וצלותהון ובעותהון דעמא כל בית
ישראל קדם מאריה דבשמיא בכל זמן ובכל עידן ועידנא הדין לחיים טובים
תתקבל צלותנא ותתעבד בעותנא וצלותהון ובעותהון דכל בית ישראל לקדם מרן דבשמיא וארעא ואמרו אמן
דעם צלותהון ובעותהון דכל בית ישראל לקדם מרן דבשמיא וארעא ואמרו אמן.

According to Maimonides this verse was added by the people;
hence the absence of ואמרו אמן in his version.

It is a closing formula for the end of a service and was per-
haps the old dismissal formula of the synagogue in use before the
Kaddish was introduced into the synagogue. The terminology of
it is so natural and traditional, that, excepting the response יה שם
. . . רב, it is probably the oldest verse of the Kaddish. The 16th
blessing of the Shemone 'Esre is fully parallel to תתקבל in that it
comprehends all the preceding paragraphs in one prayer that they
may be heard . . . תפלתנו . . . שומע תפלות ותחנונים יה שם
שמע תפלה (Shemone 'Esre) is given by R. Jose (139—165) as
שמע תפלה, R. Joshua und R. Eleazar b. Zadok his
contemporaries substituting respectively שועת or צעקת for תפלה,⁶ all
three versions being very similar to this paragraph. The Samaritan
liturgy too offers a close parallel⁷ in מרן יקבל צלותכון מי אנה
אתכנשו ויעני בעואתכון, as indeed almost any liturgy could show parallels

⁴ MS. GASTER 155.

⁵ Maimonides MS. GASTER 173 reads as Amram.

⁶ Ber 29b₁₂ DS T. Ber 37 616. In the Tanhuma to ואתחנן beginning (ed. BUBER 3), תפלה, שועת and צעקת are among the ten expressions of תפלה. In Sifre to Deut 3 23 (p. 70b) צעקת is not reckoned, but וצעקת occurs as in the Tanhuma list. All three words could possibly be turned into Aramaic as צלומא. Cf. Deut Rab. 2 beginning.

⁷ Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 19,017 p. 55b quoted in S. RAPPOPORT, *La Liturgie Samaritaine* 1900.

with this closing formula⁸ that seems to be directly descended from Biblical usage. It has been poetically amplified in the piece תַּעֲנֵנוּ וְתַצְחֵנוּ בְּרַחֲמֵי מֶן הַשָּׁמַיִם תִּקְבֵּל צַעֲקֹתֵכֶם תִּשְׁמַע בְּרִצּוֹן תַּפְלֹתֵכֶם . . . that includes a long alphabetical supplication.⁹

This addition to the original Kaddish of praise, and the following ones are in perfect accord with the rule that praise should precede prayer¹⁰ לעוֹלָם יִסְדֵּר אֶרֶם שִׁבְחוֹ שֶׁל הַקְּדוֹשׁ בִּ"ה וְאַחֵר כֵּךְ יִתְפַּלֵּל; and in this respect the Kaddish just as the Paternoster is divisible into one half of praise and one half a prayer for needs.

תִּתְקַבֵּל, editions often Hebraized תִּתְקַבֵּל, קִבֵּל, as distinct from שָׁמַע to hear, listen with the ears, means to hearken to, accept, receive, hear.¹¹ Gen 16² Onk.

צִלּוֹתָהוֹן with Holem. צִלּוֹתָ with Holem. of many MSS. and editions is a Syriasm. Compare in Arabic the loan word صَلَوَةٌ. It is the usual equivalent of תַּפְלָה and expressions like עֲנֵה קוֹל¹², שָׁמַע קוֹל¹³, שָׁמַע תַּפְלָה¹⁴ are translated in the Targum by קִבֵּל צִלּוֹתָ. The word must not be taken here in the technical sense of Shemone 'Esre¹⁵ as referring to this prayer recited earlier in the service. On the form see LAGARDE *Übersicht* 150, DALM. *Gr.* 148.

וְיִבְעִיתָהוֹן a Kāṭul form like וְיָבִי, וְיָבִי BARTH NB. 152 § 99 b. Cf. חֲכָמִי. Dan 6 8 14. Expressions like בִּקְשָׁה¹⁶, שְׁעָה¹⁷, תַּחֲנֹה¹⁸ are reproduced in the Targum by בְּעוֹתָ often with the verb עֲבַד¹⁹ or קִבֵּל,²⁰

⁸ Compare the prayer used by Augustinus at the close of a sermon. FERD. PROBST, *Katechese und Predigt* p. 161f.

⁹ Spanish Minhag for the 10 days between New Year and the Day of Atonement (1—10 Tishri) founded upon Amram II 21b.

¹⁰ Ber 32a⁴ AZ. 7b¹⁰ R. Samlai (cf. Ezra 2 46 Kethibh). Sifre 343 p. 142 a to Deut. 33 2 Ber 31a⁸ Deut Rab. 2 to Deut 3 23.

¹¹ On קִבֵּל see KAUFZSCH, *Aramäismen im Alten Testament* 76.

¹² Isa 65 24 Jon 2 3 Ps 120 1.

¹³ Deut 26 7 Ps 18 7 = 2 Sam 22 7 2 Chr 30 27. אל שָׁמַע Deut 9 19.

¹⁴ 1 Kgs 8 45 49 = 2 Chr 6 35 39 Ps 65 3.

¹⁵ Ber 17a¹⁴ 18 Pes 117b¹⁶ 18 22. ¹⁶ 1 Sam 1 17 27.

¹⁷ 2 Sam 22 7 = Ps 18 7 Ps 39 13 40 2 145 19 Lam 3 56.

¹⁸ 1 Kings 8 30 38 54 = 2 Chr 6 29 35 39 Ps 6 10.

¹⁹ Jon 2 3 Ps 18 7 = 2 Sam 22 7 Isa 65 24.

²⁰ 1 Kings 8 28 30 2 Chr 6 19 33 13. 'אָהָה ה', when not equivalent to 'alas!', is invariably (10 times) "קִבֵּל בְּעוֹתָ ה'" (Jud 6 22 ed. PRÄTORIUS בבְּעוֹתָ) as is also אָהָה 2 Kgs 20 3 = Isa 38 3 Jon 1 14 4 2.

and the words **צלותא** and **בעותא** are used practically synonymously,²¹ either paired together with the one verb **קבל**²² or with the two **קבל** and **עבר**.²³ Abudarham quotes the Jerusalem Targum to **בחרבי ובקשתי** (Gen 48 22) as **בצלתי ובעותי** probably suggested by **ובקשתי** (ובקשתי), a reading not found in our editions.²⁴

צלותא and **בעותא** as the superlinear texts, Onkelos (not Sabionetta) and the analogy of the Syriac show. The editions (BAER, GINSBURG) of Daniel and Ezra give **נָא**.

On the redundant **דכל בעותהון** see above p. 41.

קָרַם, occurring 42 times in Biblical Aramaic and frequently in inscriptions²⁵ is best written with *Ḥatef-Kameṣ*. Compare *Mandaic* **קודאם**, Syriac **ܩܪܡܐ**, superlinear **קָרַם**. According to the Masora to Onkelos Exod 6 5 3 9, the school of Sura there reads **קָרַמִי**, that of Nehardea **קָרַמִי**.²⁶

אֲבוּהוֹן דְּבִשְׁמִיא On the occurrence of the **ו** before suffixes BARTH *ZDMG*. XLI 1887 609 ff. **אֲבוּהוֹן** and **אֲבוּנָא** are both accented on the penultimate syllable. In Onkelos and the Targum to the Prophets the suffix of the 1st pers. plur. is regularly **נָא**—, in the Jer. Targum it varies between **נָא**— and **וּנָא**—. ²⁷ The *Maḥzor Vitry* reads **אֲבוּהוֹן דְּבִשְׁמִיא** perhaps a slip. But **אֲבוּהוֹן דְּבִשְׁמִיא** occurs in Exod 15 12 JII perhaps also a lapsus calami, and another variant **אֲבוּכֹן** occurs Gen 21 33 JII. The simple **אֲבוּנָא**

²¹ **צלותא** generally = **בעותא**; in 1 Kgs 8 28 b = 2 Chr 6 19 it is **בעותא**. **רנה** in Jer 7 16 11 14 Ps 42 5 61 2 88 3 is turned by **בעותא**; but in Jer 14 12 1 Kgs 8 28 = 2 Chr 6 19 Ps 106 44 119 169 142 7 it appears as **צלותא**. **שועה**, usually = **בעותא**, is in Ps 34 16 = **צלותא**. **שמע קל** translated by the Targum as **קבל צלותא** (note 13), in Jon 2 3 is turned by **בעותא**. **עבר תחנה** mostly translated by **בעותא** (note 18) is in Ps 55 2 (**צלותא**).

²² 1 Kgs 8 28 45 49 = 2 Chr 6 19 35 39.

²³ Ps 18 7 = 2 Sam 22 7 Isa 65 24.

²⁴ GINSBURGER J I and J II and BERLINER's (Sabionetta) Onkelos have not this reading. It occurs however in some editions of Onkelos. Cf. BB 123 a 12.

²⁵ LDZB. 360.

²⁶ Berliner Onkelos II 143 f. MERX, *Abhandlungen des fünften Orientalisten-Congresses* I p. 166. D. Gr. 46. 75. 156. 230.

²⁷ **אֲבוּנָא** regularly in J II Gen 18 1 21 33 28 10 49 2 18 21. But 49 18 in Cod. Oxford 2305 **אֲבוּנָא**. Onkelos on the other hand regularly has **אֲבוּנָא** Gen 19 31 f. 31 1 14 16 42 13 43 28 Num 27 3. So too J I in these passages, whereas in Exod 36 33 Lev 22 28 Deut 6 4 31 14 J I reads **אֲבוּנָא**.

(אבינו, אבינו) was hardly ever used of God without some expression such as *דבשמיא* (שבשמים or מלכנו) being added to make the usage totally unambiguous. It is true that Biblical usage employs *אב* alone without further qualification for God,²⁸ but in every case the usage is quite clear. In the New Testament too *Ἀββᾶ*²⁹ occurs alone, but the more regular usage is seen in expressions like *ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*.³⁰ The designation *דבשמיא* (אבו) (שבשמים) (אבי) is one of the most frequently occurring designations of God in Rabbinic writings.³¹

A confused and incorrect reading is found in many editions and manuscripts³² *אבוהון דבשמיא וארעא*. The addition of *וארעא* under the influence of phrases like *מריה שמיא וארעא* and *מין דבשמיא* is against all usage and cannot be translated either as 'on earth' or 'of earth.'

דבשמיא better than *די בשמיא* (Page 32). *שמיא* here corresponds with *השמים* with the article; compare *מן השמים*.³³

יהא שְׁלָמָא רַבָּא מִן־שְׁמִיָּא וְחַיִּים [מִזְבִּים עֲלֵינוּ] עַל־כֵּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאִמְרוּ אָמֵן.
Amram 13b. Old Roman¹ adds *מִזְבִּים ו*. Modern Roman (24b)
as *Mahzor Vitry* p. 64 adds *מִזְבִּים עֲלֵינוּ ו*. German adds *ו* *עֲלֵינוּ*.

יהא שְׁלָמָא רַבָּא מִן־שְׁמִיָּא (וְ)חַיִּים וְשָׁבַע וְיִשְׁעָה וְנִחְמָה [וְשִׁבְעָה וְנִחְמָה וְנִחְמָה וְנִחְמָה]
Amram 55a ().
Abudarham, Mod. Spanish, Romania, Corfu, Genizah fragment [].
Carpentras² so up to *ונחמה* then *ואמרו* and *ולכל ישראל* *ואמרו*, whereas Lille³ ends the paragraph *ורפואה שלימה* *וכפורה* *ורפואה שלימה* *אמן*, *והצלחה* *והצלחה* *אמן*. One Yemen MS. as Abud. adding *והצלחה* after *והצלחה* *אמן*.

²⁸ Isa 63 16 64 7 Jer 31 19 etc.

²⁹ Mark 14 36 Rom 8 15.

³⁰ Matth 5 45 48 6 9 16 17 etc. in Matthew in all 20 times. DWJ. 150 et seq.

³¹ J II to Exod 1 19 Num 23 23 Deut 32 6 Esth II 1 1 ed. David p. 26 13 16 Yoma 8 9 Sota 9 15 Aboth 5 20 Kil 9 8 TBER. and Z. constantly etc.

³² E. g. *Mahzor Romania Cod. GASTER* 157. *Corfu Cod. GASTER* 155.

³³ 2 Chr 6 21 23 25 27 30 33 39.

¹ Or. 2736 Add. 27,072 etc.

² Add. 19,667. The printed edition reads as Abudarham adding *עמו* (ולכל) (ישראל).
³ Cod. GASTER 164.

הָא שְׁלָמָא רַבָּא מִן־שְׁמִיָּא וְסִינְעִתָּא וּפְרָקְנָא עֲלִיבֹן וְעֲלָנָא וְעַל־כָּל־קְהָלָהוֹן דִּישְׂרָאֵל
 יהי יהו—Maimonides, Yemen MSS. begin similarly, with יהויה, up to פורקנא. Each MS then goes its own way, such as וְרוּחָא
 וְחַנָּא וְחִסְדָּא וְרַחֲמֵי עֲלִיבֹן וְעֲלָנָא וְעַל כָּל קְהָלָהוֹן דְּכָל בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחַיִּים וּלְשָׁלוֹם
 וְרוּחָא וְחַיִּים וְשִׁבְעָא וְיִשׁוּעָא וְנַחֲמָא וְשִׁיבָא וְרַפּוּאָה וְגִּזְלָה וְרוּחַ; וְאִמְרוּ אֲמֵן
 וְרוּחָא וְחַיִּים וְשִׁבְעָא וְיִשׁוּעָא וְנַחֲמָא וְפִרְנָסָא וְכָלכָּלָה; וְהַצֵּלָה עֲלִיבֹן וְעֲלָנָא . .
 . . . etc. The Cingalese-Cochin rite (p. 23a) runs similarly to Maimonides up to פורקנא, then ends כל עליון ועל כל
 עלנא ועליבון ועל כל קהלהו דישראל לחיים ולשלום ולרפואה ואמרו אמן
 מן שמיא דבשמיא וסייעתא ופורקנא לחיים טובים עלינו ועל . . .

יְהֵא שְׁלָמָא רַבָּא This closing paragraph seems to have grown up out of an original greeting of peace.⁴ Its composite Hebrew and Aramaic character—the Aramaic of Maimonides' reading is hardly original, else it would be difficult to account for the mixed character of all the other versions—would also indicate this. To greet is expressed by שאל שלום, יהב שלום; greetings (שאלית שלום) of all kinds were expressed by שלמא (שלום);⁵ and examples of dismissal addresses frequently occur with שלמא (שלום): Taan 9 b² כי הוו מִפְטְרֵי מִיְנִיהָ אָמַר לְהוּ וִילּוּ רַבָּנִן לְשָׁלָם (לִיזְלוּ רַבָּנִן בְּשַׁלְמָא editions) 'On parting from him he would say to them "Go, masters, in peace"'. M. K. 21 b¹⁹ R. Akiba dismisses his hearers after an address with the words לכו לבתיכם לשלום. B. M. 14 a₁₃ ויל לשלמא, the general rule running Ber 64 a₁₆.⁶ In the early Christian Church the preacher prefaced his address with the greeting of peace and the peace greeting was given very

⁴ So, in part, LANDSHUTH בקור חולים p. LXI. RAPOPORT כרם חמר III 46 sees in it a parallel to the congregational יקום פורקן. But there seems to be nothing to favor this.

⁵ Taan 24 b₂₁ . . . שלם טב. The greeting to non Jews שלום עליכם J. Shebi 4 3 35 b³⁰ Git 62 a₁₈ Ber 55 b Gen 43 27 1 Sam 25 5 f 2 Kgs 4 26. In letters Ezr 4 17 5 7 Dan 3 31 6 26 Luke 24 36. SAYCE-COWLEY Egyptian Aram. N 1. Gen. Rab. § 100 p. 187 c מקומנו שלום עליכם כמנהג. On greetings generally ZONZ, Zur Geschichte 304 et seq. D. Gr. 244 155 Aboth 4 15 Ber 17 a₁₅ 3 a₁₅ J. Ber 21 4 b₂₄ J. Shek 2 6 47 a₁₅ LDZB. 376.

⁶ Exod. 4 18 Jud 18 6 1 Sam 1 17 20 42 25 35 29 7 2 Kgs 5 19 2 Sam 15 9 Mark 5 34 Luke 7 50 Acts 15 33. For more elaborate greetings at parting from the study house Ber 17 a₆ (Life etc.) Yoma 71 a₁₀ (Life etc.) Ber 64 a₁₆ (Peace).

frequently during every service, but especially at the end.⁷ Particularly instructive are the dismissal words addressed by the priests to the people at the festival of the water drawing (T. Suc. 49 199 2) כשהיו נפטרים זה מזה מה היו אומרים זה לזה? יברכך ה' מציון וראה במונ וירושלם כל ימי חיך וראה בנים לבניך שלום על ישראל (Ps 128 5 6). In the Masoretic text of the book of Psalms the dismissal greeting is added to the Psalm and has become an integral part of it. So too in Ps 125 the words שלום על ישראל have been added to the Psalm and somewhat similarly in the last verse of Psalm 134. This gives analogy enough for the phenomenon of this final (mutual?) greeting, in form a prayer like all such greetings, becoming an integral part of the whole prayer here in the Kaddish.

Another strong tendency working towards this is the desire everywhere visible to close prayers, lessons, homiletic addresses and Halachic studies with words of שלום (שלום). The massed up praise of peace beginning אמר ר' אלעזר אמר ר' חנינא is used for closing many of the chapters of the Talmud.⁸ This tendency finds expression in such sayings as גדול שלום שכל הברכות וטובות ונחמות⁹ שהקב"ה מבאן על ישראל חותמין בשלום, בקריאת שמע מורש סוכת שלום, בתפלה עושה שלום בברכת כהנים וישם לך שלום. "Great is peace, for all the blessings" promises of wellbeing and consolations that the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring upon Israel close with peace. In the blessing of the Shema' it runs 'who spreads His pavilion of peace'; in the eighteen benedictions 'who maketh peace'; the priestly blessing closes with and 'give thee peace'." It is possible that there is the double meaning of שלום (a) 'peace', (b) 'completion' to be traced at the bottom of this tendency. The words here may possibly also have served as a sign for the members of the family of Aaron to give the priestly blessing that closed the service (וישם לך שלום).¹⁰

רַבָּא The addition of רבא is probably occasioned in this case of

⁷ PROBST, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts* 162, 206, 443 etc. Didascalia II 55.

⁸ Ber 64a Nazir 66b Yebam 122b Kerith 28b Tamid III 32b Megillath Ta'anith. Isa 54 13 Ps 122 7—9 128 6 119 165 29 11. The whole Mishna closes with שלום 'Ukzin 3 12.

⁹ Lev Rab 9 p. 14a. For the highest appreciations of peace see the פרק השלום Lev Rab 9 p. 13c Num Rab to Num 6 26 Sifre p. 13a ib. Tanhuma ib.

¹⁰ J Taan 67b B. Meg 18a.

the Kaddish closing the exposition of the Law by the phrase שלום רב לאהבי תורתך (Ps 119 165) and the very familiar Midrash of R. Hanina's ¹¹ שלום בעולם that was so often quoted at the end of the study. Otherwise the phrase שלמא רבא in a greeting does not seem to occur except in the guise of שלמכון ישנא in the formula heading a proclamation.¹²

מן שמיא probably equal to 'from God'. שמים (שמים) in later usage is one of the most frequently used designations for God. Already in Daniel the metonymy is visible from a comparison of two phases of the change like עיני לשמיא נמלת (4 31) and תנודע די שלמן שמיא (4 23). שמים (שמיא) is used for God almost entirely in combinations such as שם שמים, ורא שמים, בדי ש, מלכות ש, an exception being formed by the commonly occurring מן שמיא (מן השמים). The fact that מן שמיא always has the article as compared with the invariable use of שמים without the article otherwise in this connection, implies that in this combination with מן the local sense was never really obscured. Therefore in phrases such as מן השמים Ned 10 6, מן השמים Sanh 2 1, תורה מן השמים Sanh 10 1 (cf. Deut 30 12), מרחמן עליו (T. Shebu. 3 1 449 12), אין מן השמים מוחלין להן, מרחמי עליה מן שמיא Yoma 69 b ²⁵, and ליגורו, ואכריוו עלה מן שמיא Eccl. Targ. 11 3, עלך מן שמיא Deut 24 3 J I, תיתי עלך אוכחותא מן שמיא Eccl 7 9 Targ. (cf. 2 Macc 9 4), יקום פורקן מן שמיא ¹³ as well as in שמיא מן שמיא here, the local sense is best brought out by translating "from Heaven" (with H).¹⁴ It is therefore possible to see here a reference to the peace subsisting in heaven referred to very often in the Midrash as furthered by the study and practice of the law. A connection with some well known Midrash such as ¹⁵ בתורה כל העוסק בתורה אמר ר' אלכסנדר

¹¹ Compare Sanh 98a 16.

¹² Dan 3 31 6 26 R. Gamliel's letter T. Sanh 2 6 416 29 31 33 Sanh 11b 7 J. Sanh. 1 18d 15 17 20.

¹³ Page 90. Compare I Macc 12 15 16 3 help from Heaven. 3 19 strength from Heaven. Matth 21 25 Mark 11 30 Luke 20 4 John 3 27.

¹⁴ On the name of God שמיא שמים SCHÜRER, *Jahrbuch für protestant. Theologie* II 1876 p. 171. E. LANDAU, *Die dem Raume entnommenen Synonyma für Gott* (1888 Zürich) 14—28. DWJ. 178.

¹⁵ Sanh. 99b ₂₀ Num Rab 13 p. 54d. See further p. 77.

לשמה משים שלום בפמליא של מעלה ובפמליא של מטה שנאמר (Isa 27 5) או "All who busy themselves with the Torah for its own sake make peace in the heavens above and on the earth beneath" (with reference to Isa 27 5), would also help to explain very aptly the general tendency towards closing the study of the law with words of peace.

On the plural form שמים, שמיא BARTH, *ZDMG.* XLII, 1888, p. 341 f. *D. G.* 201.

חיים! This paragraph shows the tendency towards expanding prayers in full play. Amram's version contains 11 words and of those the Hebrew 6 are probably a later addition. We have the ancient prayer אבינו מלכנו in forms ranging from two verses to a litany of 53.¹⁶ Extreme multiplication has not infrequently been condemned. In the Tur a protest is recorded against adding to the הרחם versicles at the end of the grace after meals.¹⁷ The closing blessing of the Shemone 'Esre (no. 19), in character like the paragraph יהא שלמא, was originally limited to a prayer for peace. It contains in the modern Roman and German versions 5, in the Spanish, 7 words— . שים שלום) מובה וברכה חיים חן והסד צדקה ורחמים. — added to the original prayer for שלום as seen in the old Palestinian version.

The word חיים is sometimes treated in this paragraph as a congregational response, perhaps due to the tendency towards responding at every mention of God. As a response it is meaningless; but in exclamation as a wish or greeting it often occurs. 1 Sam 25 6 ותימרון כה לחיי ואמרתם כה לחיי is turned by the Targum into לחייך חמרא (T. Shab 7 8 118 14) or חמרא וחיי . . . חמרא (Shab 67 b VI end) was ejaculated. In parting greetings

¹⁶ Two verses spoken by R. Akiba Ta'an 25 b 24, expanded to 3 Alfasi *ibid.*, and 5 in Jacob ibn Ḥabib's 'Ain Ya'qob. In the liturgy they first appear as 19 verses, Amram (p. 45) 22 (25), the Old Spanish rite 23 or 27, Algiers and Constantine 28, Catalonia, Modern Spain (GASTER 37 ff) 29, Roman (p. 19 b) 30, Avignon and Greece 34. Worms 35—38, French 38, 40 or 41, Polish 42, German etc. (BAER p. 109 ff) 44, Salonica 53, ZUNZ, *Ritus* 118 ff.

¹⁷ Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim 189 (c. 1300 CE.). In Maimonides they number 3, modern German 9, mod. Spanish (p. 61) 18, Roman (p. 101 a) 22 etc.

¹⁸ Compare 1 Kings 1 25 34 39 Ezek 16 6.

it seems to have been especially frequent—**מהררי רבנן** (Yoma 71a₁₀): “The teachers in Pumbaditha when parting from one another used to say: ‘May He who creates life give thee a long life of happiness and strength’”; or **אמי ואמרי לה מבי ר** (Ber 17a₆): “On parting from R. Ammi, according to others from R. Hanina, they would say to him ‘Mayst thou long enjoy the life of this world; may thy latter end be for the world to come and thy hope for all eternity.’” To the respectful interrogatory **סברי מרנן** the answer given was **לחיי** (חיים). On the form **חיים** see BARTH, *ZDMG*. XLII 1888 p. 344.

וסייעתא. The form **וסייעתא** may at bottom be a confusion of Vav and Yod as in **וימליך** and **וימלוך**. The Yemen texts vary between **סיעתא** and **סיעתא**.

שָׁבַע Judged by Biblical usage **שָׁבַע**¹⁹ would be better than the more usual **שָׁבַע**,²⁰ which, except in Ps 16 11, is always used adverbially joined with **ל**.

ישועה ונחמה are very often coupled in liturgical Hebrew.

שינא an Aramaic (in the last instance Assyrian) word, the Targum equivalent of **פליטה**, **מקלט** etc., affords a further instance of the manner in which common words in Hebrew and Aramaic were used indifferently in either language. In form it is an Infinitive; hence **שינא**.²¹

ורפואה The use of the sing.—which is not Biblical—in the sense of bodily healing—**רפאות** in the Bible is always used figuratively—is quite general in later Hebrew.

נאִלָּה Biblically only of technical monetary redemption as **جَعَلَهُ** BARTH, *E. S.* 18; in new Hebrew used almost entirely of redemption in a general sense.

וכפרה וסליחה may perhaps have come into the prayer from the service of the ten penitential days (1—10 Tishri), just as many complete prayers, confessions and hymns have passed over from it

¹⁹ BARTH *NB.* § 70a p. 105 LAGARDE *Uebersicht* 143 14.

²⁰ BARTH *ib.* § 24b p. 37.

²¹ JASTROW **שינא**.

into more general use.²² Their absence from the Yemen texts lends color to this supposition. In Biblical Hebrew סליחה is used almost entirely in the Plural, only Ps 130 4 עמך הסליחה having the sing., and the abstract of כפר in use is כפורים. Postbiblical Hebrew prefers סליחה and כפרה, here also demanded for the assonance of the passage. סליחה 'forgiveness' in later technical use denotes a supplication for forgiveness, and as such has given its name to a large class of liturgical compositions. On כפרה see LAGARDE, *Übersicht* 230 et seq.

יְהוָה וְהַצֵּלָה Esther 4 14. On יְהוָה BARTH *N.B.* § 80 c p. 125. he regards (ib. § 60 a p. 90) as an old infin. in *ā*.

עֲלֵנָא better than עֲלֵנָא of the editions (Sabionetta Targum etc.). Biblical Aramaic עֲלֵנָא BAER, עֲלֵנָא GINSBURG.

קְהָלָהוּן דִּישְׂרָאֵל On the redundant suffix p. 41. The use of קהלא is apparently a Hebraism of the Targumist. כנסת or עדָה (συναγωγή) is in the Targum כְּנִישְׁתָּא, while קהל (ἐκκλησία) is sometimes קהלא, but more often כְּנִישְׁתָּא, כְּנִישְׁתָּא. The more truly Aramaic expression is כְּנִישְׁתָּא דִּישְׂרָאֵל, although קהלא קְרִישְׁתָּא (Ber 9 b₂₀) and כְּנִישְׁתָּא קְרִישְׁתָּא (Sanh. 109 b₂) occur very similarly. According to SCHÜRER,²³ συναγωγή (כנסת, עדָה) is the assembled body, the actual congregation, ἐκκλησία (קהל) the congregation as standing before God.(?) On קהל in Onkelos, see the Masora to Onkelos Num 14 5. According to LAGARDE²⁴ קהל means originally "court of justice" (*Rügegericht*).

עֲשֵׂה שְׁלוֹם בְּמִדְבָּרָיו הוּא [בְּרַחֲמָיו] יַעֲשֵׂה שְׁלוֹם [עֲלֵינוּ] עַל־כֵּן יִשְׂרָאֵל [וְיִאֲמְרוּ אָמֵן]. The simplest form: Amram, Seadya and Or. 1479. With []: Maḥzor Vitry, German, mod. Spanish, mod. Roman, Cochin, the printed Carpentras text etc.

Maimonides,¹ Carpentras MSS., Lille, Genizah fragments, Spanish

²² El. g. עֲלֵינוּ (GAST. 57 BAER 181 Rom. 25 b DWJ. 307 Jewish Encyclopaedia I 336 f.), הַמְבָרִיל (GAST. 148 BAER 312) . . זכרנו בזכרון מוב. (GAST. 4. 5) etc.

²³ SCHÜRER, *GJV.* II 504 f.

²⁴ LAGARDE *Übersicht* 51 10.

¹ In the Shemone 'Esre. Spanish Shemone 'Esre.

ed. princ., old Italian² read as Vitry omitting ואמרו. Corfu and Romania add to Vitry's version הרבים after ברחמיו, Romania also adding Ps 29 11.

The Yemen texts vary. Some e. g. GASTER 321 as Vitry omitting ואמרו אמן, Or. 2418 omitting also עלינו. Others³ run as follows עושה שלום במרומיו והוא ברחמיו וחסדיו יעשה שלום עלינו ועל כל בית ישראל אחינו וינחמינו בציון ויבנה ברחמיו את ירושלם בחיינו ובימינו בקרוב אמן ואמן. Persian Codex Adler 23 reads עושה שלום במרומיו הוא ברחמיו הרבים ובחסדיו הגדולים יעשה שלום על כל זרע ישראל וברוך (?) מנחם ציון עמו הוא בונה ברחמיו את עיר ירושלם ואמרו אמן.

A Genizah fragment⁴ reads עושה שלום במרומיו יעשה שלום עלינו ועליכם ועל כל עמו ישראל ואמרו אמן.

This Hebrew verse, in substance superfluous after the preceding verse . . יהא שלמא, must have been added when the character of the latter as a prayer for peace was obscured by the addition of other words to שלמא, in accordance with the desire to close with שלום. It is similarly added to the Shemone 'Esre at the end⁵ of the private prayer אלהי נצור⁶ appended to the last blessing, obscuring the character of the closing peace blessing in exactly the same way. It is added also at the end of the German and Roman versions of the grace after meals. In no case however is it an original element of the prayer; but of these three places of its occurrence the Shemone 'Esre knew it first, and thence it was carried over to the Kaddish with the insertion of ואמרו. Three steps backwards with accompanying inclinations to the left, right and forward, formed the respectful mode of retiring from a superior, as a pupil from his teacher, or as the priests and Levites retired from the service in the Temple.⁷ This form thus became identified with the parting peace greeting,⁸ and was appropriately transferred to this verse, the concluding phrase of the Shemone 'Esre said while retiring from

² Or. 2736, ברחמיו is added later. Add. 27,072.

³ Or. 1480 2389. GASTER 4, 249, a codex of 1760 etc. each with slight and immaterial variations. ⁴ GDK. 53.

⁵ In the Roman rite (p. 18 a) at the beginning of אלהי נצור.

⁶ Ber. 17a ¹⁸ the private supplication of Mar the son of Rabina, there given without this verse.

⁷ Yoma 58a 7.

⁸ Yoma 53 b 3. Cf. 53a 7, Shohar Tob to Ps 35 10.

the presence of God. These three steps backwards were then taken over into the Kaddish, together with the verse to which they had become attached.⁹ In accordance with this custom, some MSS.¹⁰ read at the close of the Shemone 'Esre instead of this verse שלום בשמאלי ושלום בימיני ושלום על כל ישראל תשים 26.954 שלום or in the Romanian rite (Harl. 5583) שלום על ימיני שלום על שמאלי שלום על ישראל ועל ירושלם עיר הקדש.¹² The Spanish ritual ed. princ. reads עושה שלום but concludes עלינו וכן אמן.¹³

It is always assumed that . . . עושה שלום is late. The following consideration will show that, though late in the Kaddish, it has yet as a concluding verse an old tradition behind it. It is based on the half verse Job 25 2b עושה שלום במרומיו. This was interpreted as referring to peace between the angels. In later scholastic times¹⁴ it was applied to the peace prevailing between the angels, some of whom are of the nature of fire, others of water. In the Yemenite Targum to the Shemone 'Esre, discovered by Dr. GASTER¹⁵, our verse is paraphrased דעבד שלמא בפמליא דילך בין מיכאל וגבריאל ואנת דעבד שלמא בפמליא דילך בין מיכאל וגבריאל ועל כל עמך ישראל ברהמתך עבד שלמא עלנא ועל כל עמך ישראל. This idea is that already contained in the concluding prayer added to the Shemone 'Esre by R. Safrā¹⁶ ה' רצון מלפנך ה' אלהי שתשים שלום בפמליא של מעלה ובפמליא של מטה. It is clear that the verse עושה שלום is simply the same idea in more Biblical language, taking the place of R. Safrā's prayer at the end of the Shemone 'Esre. The traditional explanation of the verse in this connection is therefore the original one. The same idea is also at the bottom of the Midrash quoted above (p. 72f.) משים שלום בפמליא של מעלה ובפמליא של מטה. The comparison of above and below is a common one in Jewish thought and prayer.

⁹ For some of the fancies that have grown up around these three steps see Vitry 18. 67. Ha-Manhig § 91. Shibbole ha-Lekeṭ 18. Maṭṭeh Moshe 153-160. ABR. LEVYSONH מנהגים מקורי p. 33. ¹⁰ BAER p. 105. ¹¹ Yoma 53b 10.

¹² Compare 1 Sam. 25 6 1 Chr 12 18. Prof. BEZOLD draws my attention to the Assyrian šulmu, šulmu, šulmu. CARL BEZOLD, *Die babyl.-assyrl. Keilinschr. in ihrer Bedeutung für das A. T.* (Tübingen '04), p. 59. J. HAHN, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat* (Leipzig '07) p. 65.

¹³ More reasonably than reading אמרי in a private prayer said in an undertone.

¹⁴ Orhoth Hayyim, Kol Bo etc.

¹⁵ MGWJ. XXXIX 1894 p. 90.

¹⁶ Ber 16b 1.

R. Eleazar prayed¹⁷ מלמטה ליראיך כשם כשם בקדש את שמך בעולם כשם ששמקדישים אותו בשמי מרום.

Some similarity has been pointed out between this verse and the greater doxology of the Church, the Gloria in Excelsis Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρηκὴ ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (Luke 2 14), but it cannot be pressed, even though ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας be taken as the equivalent of פמליא של מטה, in our version על כל ישראל. Both are doxologies praying for peace on earth. But the New Testament formula puts peace on earth supplementing glory to Heaven (Compare Ps 8 2). The Jewish formula wishes for peace on earth as it is in heaven (cf. Matth 6 10b). A variant reading due to confusion of sound is וברחמי for הוא ברחמי.

עשה שלום . . על is a pregnant usage combining the Biblical עשה שלום with the form common in greetings שלום על. עשה שלום ב is usually construed with ב,¹⁹ sometimes with עם²⁰ and in a different sense with בין.²¹

¹⁷ Ber 29b ¹⁴.

¹⁸ BAER p. 89 236. GASTER p. 31 117.

¹⁹ TBER. 17 84 29 156.

²⁰ Yemen Cod. GAST 249. TBER. 29 156.

²¹ TBER. 18 106 29 157 etc.

A variant to (α) b is בעלמא דעתיד לחרתא of Soferim 19 12, and Tur Yore Deah 376 gives a version of (γ) varying in details. Old English mostly follows Maimonides *JQR* IV p. 54.

This version, known as the burial Kaddish or Kaddish לחרתא (לאתחרתא) from the first characteristic word, is, broadly speaking, the older simpler Kaddish with the Messianic insertions b. c. d. e. f. g. For dating it, the termini are the destruction of the second Temple 72 C. E. and Massecheth Soferim 7th—8th cent. It is impossible accurately to fix a date between these two limits and the most one can venture to say is that it is hardly earlier than the third or later than the seventh century.

This elaboration of the Kaddish is also in origin the דברי שבח at the close of an Aggadic discourse, and very probably arose, if we need seek special grounds for its development, in differentiation from its simpler original, when the latter became an integral part of the synagogue service. When the older, simpler version had assumed its function in the synagogue with a definite place and meaning in the services, it was amplified in the study house with the comforting Messianic promises and hopes that recur again and again at the close of Aggadic study. And even the Halachic treatises of the Mishna often close with prayers for or references to the world to come² (b), the resurrection³ (c), the rebuilding of Jerusalem⁴ (d) and of the Temple⁵ (e) and the approach of the Messiah⁶ (h). This study-house use of the paragraph is undoubtedly original, although it was later applied as the graveside Kaddish and as the mourning Kaddish par excellence [Appendix F, p. 115].

Whereas the Hebrew prayer על הכל (Soferim 14 12) is strictly parallel to the ordinary Kaddish, the prayer יהי רצון⁷ corresponds in three of its four paragraphs with the contents of the three para-

¹ Ber 31a²⁸ T. Ber 3 21 8 10 (text notes) J. Ber 5 8d 22.

² Talmud Tamid 33b MK. 29a Hull. 142a etc.

³ Sota 9 15 MK. 3 9 Tosafoth MK. 28b top בליע.

⁴ Aboth 5 20 reading שחבנה עירך. Derech Eres Rabba.

⁵ Taan 4 8 Aboth 5 20 reading בית המקדש. Derech Eres Zutta.

⁶ Eduy. 8 7.

⁷ Amram I 24a (), 33a [] BAER 124 GASTER 113 Roman 23b. See further pp. 92 and 98.

graphs of this version of the Kaddish: לרחם, ויהא עתיד to לכוּן (p. 97) and על ישראל to לקים (p. 98). The form differs largely owing to the "Systemzwang" of the יהי רצון framework. The similarity is least clear in the first verse אלהי השמים (לרחם) [לכוּן] את בית חיינו ולהשיב שכינתו לתוכו (במהרה בימינו) ואמרו אמן where only e. g. and j. are paralleled. The other two verses are far more closely related. The elaborate פרקנא of the Yemen codex GASTER 243 f. 132a contains the phrase היכלא היכלא (e) and (d). Various closing prayers offer parallels to this paragraph; e. g. the יהי רצון added after counting the 'Omer and after the Shemone 'Esre,⁸ and the old מלכנו אלהינו⁹ also closing the Shemone 'Esre and its variant in the Genizah fragment published by GASTER¹⁰ שכינתך תשב לבית (h) קרב משיח (e) היכלך (g). מקדשך (g). . . הרחמן יזכנו לראות המשיח ולחיי העולם הבא (b)

The paragraph, itself an expansion of the simpler Kaddish, has in its turn been poetically amplified. Dr. GASTER has published¹¹ a Genizah fragment, dating from not later than the 9th or 10th century that appears to be a poetical expansion of it, phrase by phrase, perhaps for the fast of Ab. The following extract shows its construction:

- (c) . . . כמא דאמיר על ידי עבדוהי נבייא לאחאה מיתא;
 (d) למבני קרתא ירושלם. למבני יתה בניין עלם . . . למבני קרתא ירושלם;
 (e) לשכללא היכל. לשכללא יתה . . . יקר שכינתיה . . . שכינתיה להיכלא דקודשא כמא דאמיר על ידי עבדוהי נבו לשכללא היכלא;
 (f) למעקר פולחנא נוכרא. למעקר יתה מן שמיא ומן ארעא . . .
 (g) . . . ויתובון כל עלמא . . . לפולחנא דקודשא ברוך הוא . . .
 (h) . . . ותתגלי מלכותיה על כל יתבי ארעא . . . ובכן ימלך מלכותיה וגי.
 (i) בתיכון וכול

This text agrees on the whole most with version (α).

(b) The more explicitly dogmatic Messianic character of this version of the Kaddish is at once brought out in the qualification

⁸ Meg 20b Tosafoth הלילה כל end. TBER. 18 95.

⁹ Amram I 9a Vitry 67 BAR 104 p. 36 note 55.

¹⁰ GDK. p. 238.

¹¹ GDK. 234 MGWJ XLVIII 1904 417ff.

given to בעלמא instead of . . דברא of the simpler version. The characterisation "Messianic" is meant in the broadest sense (V. preface p. VII). Accurately speaking, Jewish eschatology usually pictures the earthly Messianic Kingdom as giving way, after a period, to the resurrection (c) and to the great judgment,¹² followed by the Kingdom of God.¹³ The new heavens and new earth (b),¹⁴ the παλιγγένσις or, as the Syriac version turns it, the *ḥalḥal* *ḥalḥal*,¹⁵ follow the period of the kingdom of the Messiah.¹⁶ According to R. Eleazar of Modin (2nd cent.)¹⁷ the עולם הבא is connected with the souls, the preceding עולם הזה with the resurrection,¹⁸ this giving (b) a very close connection with

(c) the resurrection.¹⁹ This belief occurring sporadically in the Old Testament,²⁰ regularly in the New Testament²¹ and in Hellenic and Pharisaic apocryphal works,²² the Mishna²³ and Talmud²⁴ and Targum²⁵ hangs inseparably together with the Messianic hope. The "renewal of the world" (b) must necessarily include the revival of the dead for them to share in the Messianic glory. Sometimes the

¹² Dan 12 2 Enoch 98 10 103 s 104 5.

¹³ The modern German addition to (c). Deut 30 19 J I. Hos 6 2 Targ.

¹⁴ Isa 65 17 66 22 Exod Rab. 15 to Ex 12 2. Tanhuma to יושׁ ed. BUBER 9. PREL. 51. Alphabet of R. Akiba (version B) letter Heh, JELL. BH. III p. 25. Cf. Deut. 32 1 J I with ib. J II. Eth. Enoch 45 4 f.

¹⁵ Matth 19 28. Cf. 2 Pet. 3 13 Revel. 21 1, 5 20 11 Apoc. Baruch 32 6 44 12 57 2.

¹⁶ Sanh. 92 b 1 97 b 16, 7000, 5000 etc. years.

¹⁷ Mechilta p. 50 b to Exod 12 25.

¹⁸ On עולם הזה SCHÜRER GJV. II 636 ff. and literature there given. DWJ 145 f. J. KLAUSNER, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes*, Berlin '04 p. 18 ff.

¹⁹ SCHÜRER GJV. II 638 et seq. Collected Jewish views on the resurrection ZUNZ, *Zur Geschichte* 372 et seq.

²⁰ Dan 12 2 Isa 26 19 Job 19 25 f. 14 13 f. Ezek 37 1 et seq. Compare 1 Kgs 17 22 2 Kgs 4 32—35 13 21. Contrast Ps 88 11, but also Ps 49 15 73 18—24. A hint of it is found in Deut 32 34 (Sifre ib. p. 139 b), 33 6 a Num 23 10 b Hos 6 2.

²¹ Luke 20 35 ff. John 5 29 Acts 24 15 1 Cor 6 14 2 Cor 1 9 etc.

²² IV Macc 17 18 Wisdom 3 1—9 Ps of Solomon 3 16 Baruch 30 1—5 44 12 49—51 Enoch 22 51 1 f. and esp. 2 Macc 7 9 11 14 36 14 46 12 43—45.

²³ Aboth 4 22 Sota 9 15 end, cf. 1 Kgs 17 22.

²⁴ Sanh 90 b 28 et seq. Keth 8 b 20 J. Ber 4 2 7 d 26. Compare Shem. 'Esre 2. TBER. 5 29 151.

²⁵ Gen 19 26 J II Zach 3 7 Hos 6 2. See p. 63.

resurrection is pictured as taking place through Elijah²⁶ or the Messiah, but more usually, as here, through God who alone has the key to open the graves²⁷ at the end of the Messianic era.²⁸ The connection of this phrase (c) with (a) cannot be too closely drawn. As the Kaddish prays for the sanctification of God's Name through the resurrection, the resurrection is again and again described as having for its purpose the praise of God. In Ezek Ch 37 the foundation of the Rabbinical teaching on the resurrection, it is three times²⁹ emphasised that through it *וידעתם כי אני ה'* and after the final defeat of Gog and Magog—*והתגדלתי והתקדשתי*—will come the resurrection. So in the TBER.³⁰ *ונתגדל שמו בעולם ובסוף שחיו מסוף העולם ועד סופו. ועל אותה שעה הוא אומר (Ezek 38 23) והתגדלתי והתקדשתי* or *תחיית המתים להתקב"ה בעולם הזה כדי לקדש שמו הגדול ברוך אתה ה' מתידי המתים* The Targum to the Shemone 'Esre³¹ translates *וישבחון קדמך ויברכון ית' שמך ואמרו יהא שמיא רבא מברך דיכילתא* by *לאחיא מיתא*.

(d) There is no attempt at putting the various eschatological ideas here enumerated into their chronological order a, h 2, d. e. f. g. b. c. h 1. In the Bible there are many references to God's building up Jerusalem, this also bringing honor and glory to His Name;³² and after the destruction of the city by Titus and the building of the heathen city Aelia Capitolina on its site by Hadrian, the hopes of

²⁶ Sota 9 15 end. Compare 1 Kgs 17 22.

²⁷ Ezek 37 12 Ber 15 b₁₆ Gen 30 22 J II. Alphabet of R. Akiba letter Zayyin JELL. BH. III 27 PREL. 34 Keth 8 b₂₃ J. Ber 42 7 d 26 Ber 60 b₂₇ Taan 2 a₄ Sanh 113₃.

²⁸ Num 11 26 J I Deut 32 39 J II 1 Sam 2 6 2 Esdr 7 26—36 TBER. 3 14 5 21 18 93 107 TBEZ. 4 180.

²⁹ Ezek 37 6 13 14. Cf. Targ. Isa 42 11. Targ. to Shem. Esre quoted lower. Midrash Konan JELL. BH. II 36.

³⁰ TBER. 5 22 24 Num 11 26 J I.

³¹ MGWJ. XXXIX 1894 85.

³² Ps 102 14—17 Ps 51 20 where *היטיבה* seems to be a technical term for *re-building so as to improve and beautify*. Compare the Zenjirli inscription of Barrekub bar Panammu l. 12 *בית מלכין רבירין* and that of Panammu l. 9 *בית אבה היטיבה* SACHAU, *Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* Heft 11 p. 25. Berl. '93. Ps 147 2. Compare Sirach 36 17 f. Isa 51 3 52 9 54 11 f. 61 3 f.

the consolation (נחמה)³³ and rebuilding of the New Jerusalem³⁴ loomed most prominently in the hopes for the future, and find expression at every opportunity.³⁵ Almost invariably the prayer for Jerusalem (d) is coupled with

(e) the prayer for the rebuilding of the Temple. God will rebuild His Temple,³⁶ described by Ezekiel (40—48), through His anointed.³⁷ The nations of the earth will forsake their idols and go up to the House of the God of Jacob to learn of His ways (f),³⁸ for the service of God will be restored to the Temple once more (g).³⁹

דְּהוּא and דְּעָתִיד better than דִּי. Compare Galilean and Samaritan דו for דוּ.

עָתִיד better than the usual⁴⁰ עָתִיד—a Hebraism,—in form Part. Pass. Peal. עָתִיד in the Targum, as סוּף with ל or a participle or סוּף עָתִיד, is constantly used for expressing certain futurity.⁴¹ Cf. לעָתִיד לְבוֹא “to the future world”.

לְחַדְשָׁתָּא more original than לְאַתְחַדְשָׁתָּא. The Targum in two passages—Mic 7 14 לאַתְחַדְשָׁתָּא עָתִיד and Deut 32 1 JI simi-

³³ Isa 52 9 66 13 Zach 1 17 Sirach 36 13 f. Targ. Isa 33 20 51 3 4 3. Ber 48 b 20 נחמה referring to the paragraph על צִיּוֹן (רחם) נחם and בּוֹנֵה בְּרַחֲמֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם and נחם צִיּוֹן בְּנִינָה. Sofer 13 12 the Haftarah blessing סִנְחָם צִיּוֹן בְּנִינָה . . . סִנְחָם צִיּוֹן עִירָךְ . . . סִנְחָם צִיּוֹן בְּנִינָה. Derech Eres Rabba end וְנִחְמוּמֹתֶיהָ וְנִחְמוּמֹתֶיהָ שְׁמִיחָתָהּ שֶׁל יְרוּשָׁלַם. See p. 64.

³⁴ Isa 54 11 f. Zech 2 6—9 14—16 8 3—5 Revel 21 10 et seq. Tobit 13 16—18 14 5 Enoch 90 28 f. JELL. BH. III p. 69, 74 f. SCHÜRER *GJV.* II 625 f. gives literature. Apoc. Baruch 6 9.

³⁵ Ber 44 a 7 J Ber 42 7 d 19 TBER. 14 63 Shem. 'Esre 14 17 (ELBOGEN p. 525). The Palestinian version (S. SCHECHTER *JQR.* X 1898 p. 657) reads in one text בְּנֵה בֵיתָךְ שְׁבִלִי הַיְכָל (BAER 108). Service for the 9th Ab (Taan. 29 b) נָחַם (BAER p. 96). Further note 33 above. Aboth 5 20 Soferim 14 12 וְהוּא יִבְנֶה יְרוּשָׁלַם בֵּיתוֹ בִּימֵינוּ.

³⁶ Isa 60 7 Hag 2 7 9 Taan 4 8 Aboth 5 20 Tobit 14 5 Enoch 90 28 f. Derech Eres Zutfa end. Shem. 'Esre 17 (ELBOGEN 526) JELL. BH. III 69 74 f. Further note 33 and 35 above.

³⁷ Zach 6 12 f. and Targ.

³⁸ Isa 2 3 18 Mic 4 2 Zach 13 2 Tobit 14 6. The second half (עַל כֵּן) of עלינו (BAER p. 132). New Year liturgy (German) DWJ. Anhang 306. Cant. Rab. to 2 13 p. 17 c.

³⁹ Shemone 'Esre 17 והשב העבודה לרביר ביתך Midr. Ps 17 2 ed. BUB. p. 127 השב שְׁכִינָתְךָ לְצִיּוֹן וְסִדְרֵי הָעֲבוּדָה לְיְרוּשָׁלַם (ELBOGEN, *Shem. 'Esre* 527).

⁴⁰ Targum ed. Sabionetta, Lisbon etc.

⁴¹ Gen 4 7 10 Onk. Exod J I 1 15 3 5 10 7 etc. D. *Gr.* 268.

larly, reads the Ithpaal, but in Habak 3 2 **עלמא** להרתא. In Onkelos to Deut 32 12 the MSS. and editions vary between the Pael and Ithpaal.⁴² With the Ithpaal **הוא** refers to **עלמא**, thus laying unwarranted emphasis on **עלמא** and leaving b out of connection with the following phrases c. d. e. etc. With the Pael **הוא** God is the subject of all the following verbs. The later change to the Passive is apparently in accordance with the scrupulous spirit of the Targum to avoid attributing the action of the renewal directly to God.⁴³ **חדת** (LDZB. 271) is a denominative. Old English **לחדשא**.

לחדשא⁴⁴ is perhaps the best orthography, pronounced as the later more popular spelling **אחיה**;⁴⁵ **אחיה**⁴⁶ and **אחיה**⁴⁷ also occur. The form in Biblical Aramaic is **לחתיה**.⁴⁸ The punctuation **אחיה** also occurs in Yemenite texts.⁴⁹ Old English **ולמחמא** (!).

מיתיה Most Targum editions and some MSS. and editions of the Kaddish prefer **מיתיה**⁵⁰ possibly hinting at **מיתיה** from **אתה** 'the coming ones.'

למפרק So Onk. and Proph. Targ. **ולמפרק** often in Jer. Targ.

חיה as in Dan 2 30 4 14. Most editions and Targ. edit. **חיה**.

לחנפקא Afel Inf. of **חנק** with Daghes in ח. Cf. Dan 6 24 **לחנפקא**.

יתחון Dan 3 12 better than **יתחון**.⁵¹

עלמה based on Dan 12 2. Amram II 21 b **לחי** **מסוק משאול**

⁴² Bologna 1482, Vienna, and two MSS. (1185 CE. and 1439 CE.) quoted by LEVY TWB. חת, read the Pael. Edit. Sabionetta, the Lisbon 1491 editions and modern editions have the Ithpaal.

⁴³ So ADLER לחדת to Deut 32 12.

⁴⁴ Amram, Rashi (Vitry), Yemen, Yemen Genizah fragment, Targum Cod. Beuchl. Isa 38 16 2 Sam 8 2 1 Sam 2 6 Exod 13 17 J II ed. GINSBURGER שכן עתיד **לחיה** **לחיה**.
⁴⁵ Maimonides.

⁴⁶ Abudarham. Targum Isa 38 16 Buxtorf. Tur.

⁴⁷ Targ. Isa 38 16 ed. Venice 1517.

⁴⁸ Dan 2 10 16 27 3 32 5 15 one Yemen MS. Qre. לחחוא. STRACK to Dan 2 10.

⁴⁹ D. Gr. 353 355 60 98.

⁵⁰ JASTROW, LANDSHUTH etc. Num 17 13 Onk.—not ed. Sab. and Lisbon. REUCHL. 2 Kgs 19 35.

⁵¹ MEXX, *Bemerkungen über die Vocalisation der Targume* (Verhandlung des 5ten internat. Orientalisten-Congresses 145, 185. NÖLDEKE, *Mand. Gram.* 92. 390. WRIGHT, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages* 112. BERLINER, Onkelos II 148. BEVAN, Daniel 38.

עלמא better than Targ. 1 Sam 26 **עלמא** where **עלמא** **וּאָף עתיד לאַסקא בחיי עלמא** as often.⁵² Both **עלמא דאתי** **חיי העולם הבא** **חיי עלמא דאתי** **חיי עלמא** **חיי עלמא** **חיי עלמא** occur, the latter more frequently.

למבנא better than **למבנא** although Ezr 5 2 17 has **למבנא**,⁵³ since in later orthography **א** is usually mater lectionis for the vowel *a*.⁵⁶

קרתא NÖLDEKE, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 62, note 1; BARTH, *ZDMG.* XLI 1887, 607. **קרתא** followed by a name is usually constructed with **ד**⁵⁷ but often (hebraizing?) without it.⁵⁸

דירושלם So BAER and GINSBURG. STRACK **דירושלם** as many MSS. STRACK to Ezr 4 8.

לשכלל in Biblical Aram **לשכלל**⁵⁹ to finish building walls⁶⁰ or the Temple.⁶¹ In the Targumim it is used in this sense also⁶² and in the rather more general sense of to build up⁶³ as here, or to lay the foundations.⁶⁴

היכלא So Biblical Aramaic⁶⁵ and Syriac **ܫܚܠܐ** better than the hebraizing form usually found **היכלא**.

⁵² Targ Lev 18 5 Isa 58 11 Ezek 20 11 13 21 compared with Deut 30 19 J I.

⁵³ Aboth 2 7 Sanh 10 2

⁵⁴ Dan 12 2 Lev 18 5 O J I Deut 33 6 O. 1 Sam 25 29 Ezek 20 11 13 21 Ps Sol 13 9 14 2. Cf. Enoch 103 3 f. In the New Testament **ἐκκλησία** 40 times. Sofer 13 8 DWJ. 127 f.

⁵⁵ Besides **למבנא** Ezr 5 9 (cf. DG 340 349) and **למבנא** Ezr 5 3 13. This latter form too in inscriptions e. g. Hadad l. 11 13. SAYCE-COWLEY Egypt. Aram. has **למבנא** A 3 6 9 11 C 14. ⁵⁶ D. Gr. 339 349.

⁵⁷ **קרתא דירושלם** Amr., Rashi, Maim., Tur. Isa 10 32 REUCHL. margin and editions. Cf. Gen 33 18 J I 49 7 J II Esth II 8 15 ed. David p. 44 3, ib. 11 p. 211.

⁵⁸ **קרתא דירושלם** Abud., Yemen, Genizah fragment Isa 10 32 REUCHL. Cf. Gen 33 18 ONK.

⁵⁹ Ezr 5 3 9. The Inf. Pael ending in **א** occurs only in **לשכלל** Ezr 4 21 6 8 **לשכלל** Dan 7 19 and perh. Kethibh **לשכלל** Ezr 6 17 D. Gr. 250 f. 261.

⁶⁰ Ezra 4 12 13 16 5 3 9.

⁶¹ Ezra 5 11 6 14 and 5 3 9, if **אשרנא** is connected with Assyrian **asru** sanctuary as PAUL HAUPT suggests in GUTHIE's Ezra. Cf. **אשרנא** a part of the temple, SACHAU, *Die Aram. Papyrusurkunden* 1 11.

⁶² Gen 21 Exod 31 17 J I Deut 20 5 J I Ezek 27 11 Am 9 11 1 Chr 4 23.

⁶³ Ps 51 20.

⁶⁴ Zech 8 9 Hab 2 12 1 Sam 2 8 2 Sam 22 8 Isa 42 5.

⁶⁵ NÖLDEKE, *Mand. Gram.* 135 § 113 RECKENDORF, *ZDMG.* XLII 1888 p. 399 BARTH, *NB.* § 264 d p. 423 note 2 Ges. KAUTZSCH, *Hebr. Gram.* 85 c LAGARDE,

קִדְשָׁא וְיִקְרָא added in the Yemen version can be defended by the apparent usage in Biblical Aramaic where *the two meanings of* הִיכְלָא “palace” and “temple” *always appear to be purposely kept distinct from each other by qualifying additions.* הִיכְלָא as temple is הִיכְלָא דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם (Ezra 5 14a 15 6 5 5), הִיכְלָא דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם (Dan 5 3). הִיכְלָא as royal palace is מַלְכָּא דִּי הִיכְלָא (Dan 5 5), (מַלְכָּא) הִיכְלָא מַלְכוּתָא, (Dan 4 1) בְּבֵיתִי בְּהִיכְלִי (Dan 6 19) לְהִיכְלָה (Dan 4 26). מַלְכָּא מַלְחָנָא (Ezra 4 14) is speaking of the king. According to this Ezra 5 14b c הִיכְלָא דִּי בָבֶל is temple in Babylon as הִיכְלָא דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם temple in Jerusalem, in contrast with הִיכְלָא מַלְכוּתִי דִּי בָבֶל the palace in Babylon.

בְּנִינָה So Ezra 4 15 better than ed. Sabionetta etc. בְּנִינָה. On גו RECKENDORF, ZDMG. XLII, 1888 p. 413. LDZB. 249.

וְלִמְעִיקַר The reading of the Mahzor Vitry וְלִמְעִיקַר is not necessarily Pael or a scribe's mistake for וְלִמְעִיקַר. In verba prima gutt. esp. prima ע the first syllable of the Inf. Peal is often opened in superlinear texts and ed. Sabionetta, giving forms like מְעִיבַר Deut 27 12 Num 20 21 (מְעִיבַר) or מְעִיבַר. מְעִיבַר Gen 19 20 Sab מְעִיבַר Deut 24 8 Sab., מְעִיבַר editions, contrasting with the closed syllable in Biblical Aramaic מְעִיבַר (Ezra 4 22 7 18).⁶⁶ With closed syllable the vowel of the prefix מ may be *a*, *e* or *i*.⁶⁷ On עִיקַר BARTH, ES. 6.

פְּלִתְנָא נִכְרָאָה On פִּלְתָּן see above on פִּלְתָּן p. 37. BARTH, NB. § 194b p. 318 p. XXIX note 1. פִּלְתָּן נִכְרָאָה⁶⁸ or as pronounced פִּלְתָּן נִכְרָאָה⁶⁹ is the regular equivalent of the Hebrew עֲבֹדָה זָרָה strange service i. e. idolatry, or the idol itself. The former meaning is

Uebersicht 121 9 DELITZSCH, Assyr. WB. following OPPERT, êkallu from the Sumerian ê-gal large house.

⁶⁶ STRACK to Ezra 7 18 notes a superlinear MS with מְעִיבַר.

⁶⁷ BARTH NB. § 161b p. 243 DGr. 93 f. 279 f.

⁶⁸ J I Gen 21 9 15 f. 26 35 Exod. 6 9 17 § 32 18 27 Num 23 1 35 25 Deut 25 18 32 12. Cf. S. LANDAUER, *Das Elif als mater lectionis im jüd. Aram.*, Festschrift Abraham Berliner's p. 220 f. D. Gr. 98 177 194.

⁶⁹ J II Gen 4 26 21 9, J I Exod 32 6, Deut 32 16 J II נִכְרָאָה cf. ver. 12 Deut 14 1 J II נִכְרָאָה, פִּלְתָּן נִכְרָאָה, GINSBURGER נִכְרָאָה. The א in נִכְרָאָה is only a mater lectionis to avoid reading נִכְרָאָה.

might be regarded as slightly favouring לאתריה.⁷³ The Yemen version combines both להדריה בזהרריה לאתריה 'to its glory' rather than 'for His glory'. Old English לאתרא.

יְקָרָה, יְהוָה⁷⁴ and הדריה are quite synonymous. The Targum in avoidance of anthropomorphism or anthropopathism uses 'יקרא דה' (= 'כבוד ה') or 'ויו יקרא דה' equally. J I prefers 'יקר שכינתא דה', and the Tur reads here וזויה ויקריה ושכינתיה וזויה דהר. in Deut 33 17 is וזו in Onk, וזויה דהר in J I, ויקרא וזויה in J II. יְקָר occurring often in the later parts of the Old Testament is recognised by R. Nahman b. Isaac (280—356) as Aramaic.⁷⁵

יְהוָה of the superlinear texts⁷⁶ is perhaps a better form.

וּמִלְךָ... בְּמַלְכוּתָהּ the modern German reading is a confusion of וּמִלְךָ בְּמַלְכוּתָהּ and וּמִלְךָ מַלְכוּתָהּ.

הָא שְׁעָתָא contracted from הַשְׁעָתָא.

עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל-רַבָּנָן וְעַל-תַּלְמִידֵיהוֹן וְעַל-תַּלְמִידֵי תַלְמִידֵיהוֹן דְּעַשְׁקִין
בְּאוֹרֵיתָא קְדִישָׁתָא דְּבִצְתָרָא קִרְנָן וְדְבִצְתָרָא וְאִתְרָא וְהָא [לְנָא וְלִהוֹן] תְּנָא וְחִסְדָּא
וְנִחְמִי מִן קֳדָם קֳדָם שְׂמִיָּא וְאַרְעָא וְאִמְרוּ אֲמֵן. Abudarham. Mod. Spanish [].
For the opening words Maimonides has only וְעַל רַבָּנָן. כל is inserted
in the modern German and in some Yemen texts. Maimonides
omits קְדִישָׁתָא as do some Yemenite texts. The modern German
inserts דְּעַשְׁקִין (דְּעַשְׁקִין). Carpentras, Spanish (ed. Livorno 1791),
Maimonides MS. GASTER 173 דִּיתְבִּין וְעַשְׁקִין. Maimonides, Roman and
Mod. German read לְהוֹן וְלִנָּא. Yemen also, or לְהוֹן וְלִנָּא etc.¹ Yemen reads also וְחִסְדָּא וְנִחְמִי
הָא. Roman adds שְׂמִיָּא before them and וְאִמְרוּ רִיחִין after them. Maimonides
adds שְׂמִיָּא רַבָּא הָא וְחִסְדָּא וְנִחְמִי. Mod. German reads וְחִסְדָּא וְנִחְמִי וְחִסְדָּא וְנִחְמִי.

⁷³ Cf. Ezr 6 5 5 15. Cf. SACHAU l. c. p. 41.

⁷⁴ NÖLDEKE, ZDMG. XL 1886 p. 732.

⁷⁵ Meg 9a 17 KAUTZSCH, *Aramäismen* p. 38 BARTH, NB. 88c D. Gr. 100 155. Assyrian akru is 'precious, valuable'. ⁷⁶ D. Gr. 85 92 164.

¹ Kohut's Yemen text לְהוֹן וְלִנָּא. Yemen Or. 2418 לְהוֹן וְלִנָּא. Spanish ed. Livorno 1791 לְהוֹן וְלִנָּא. Carpentras as mod. Spanish לְהוֹן וְלִנָּא. Spanish ed. princ. לְהוֹן. Some Yemen texts לְהוֹן etc.

מרי שמיא וארעא³ Maimonides,² וחזין אריכין ומוזנא ריחא ופורקנא, mod. German and KOHUT's Yemen text read דבשמיא Yemen as both of these or דב' אבונא or וארעא מימרא דשמיא וארעא.

This paragraph, recited in the Kaddish at the end of a lesson is an appropriate wish for blessing on all teachers who uphold and transmit the traditional teachings. יקום פורקן⁴, the old Babylonian formula used for the same purpose, is practically the same:⁵

דייש (German)	יקום פורקן
ועל ישראל ועל רבנן	... למרנן ורבנן ...
ועל תלמידיהון ועל כל תלמידי תלמידיהון	ולכל תלמידיהון ולכל תלמידי תלמידיהון
ועל כל מן דעסקין באוריתא	וכל מן דעסקין באוריתא ...
דבאתרא הדין דבכל אתר ואתר	... דבארעא דישראל דבבכל
יהא להון [ולכון] חנא וחסדא ורחמי	... חנא וחסדא ורחמי וחיי אריכי
וחיי אריכי ומוזנא ריחא..	ומוזני ריחי וסיעתא ...
ופרקנא מן קדם אבוהון דבשמיא	... יקום פורקן מן שמיא ...
ואמרו אמן	... ונאמר אמן

יקום פורקן has a considerable excess of words over this paragraph of the Kaddish, several of which however can be paralleled in other versions or parts of the Kaddish; e. g. Maimonides = סיעתא יקום פורקן in סיעתא לרישי כלי ולרישי גלותא ולרישי. The addition of יקום פורקן in מתיבתא in the old Kaddish (p. 18) in the mention of the ראש גלותא and ראש הישיבה and ראש הישיבה, where

² Spanish ed. Livorno 1791 adds וחזין אריכין ומוזני ריחא. A Maimonides MS (Gaster 173) reads חנא וחסדא ורחמי [וחזין] אריכי ומוזני וסיעתא דשמיא ובריאות דשמיא ובריותא דשמיא. נומא מימרא דשמיא יהא בסעדנא ובסעדון בכל זמן ועדן ואמרו אמן.

³ Abudarham, Spanish, Carpentras, Roman, Old Yemen texts. The Spanish version ed. Livorno 1791 reads וארעא מרי דשמיא וארעא. For מרי often מריה and מאריה.

⁴ Vitry p. 172 BAER 229 f. S. L. RAPOPORT, *Biography of Nathan b. Yechiel* Note 29. It runs as follows: (BAER) יקום פורקן מן שמיא חנא וחסדא ורחמי וחיי אריכי ומוזני ריחי וסיעתא דשמיא ובריות נומא ונהורא מעליא ורעא חייא וקיימא ורעא דלא יפסוק ודלא יבטול מפתגמי אוריתא למרנן ורבנן חבורתא קדישתא דבארעא דישראל דבבכל לרישי כלי ולרישי גלותא ולרישי מתיבתא ולדני דבבא, לכל תלמידיהון ולכל תלמידי תלמידיהון ולכל מן דעסקין באוריתא מלכא דעלמא יברך יתהון יפיש חיהון ויכני וימיהון ויתן ארכא לשניהון ויתפרקון וישתובון מן כל עקא ומן כל מרעין בישין מרן דבשמיא יהא בסעדון כל זמן ועדן ונאמר אמן.

⁵ Based on LANDSHUTH חולים p. LX.

comes very abruptly and is bracketed by BAER etc.) corresponds with the congregational *יקום פורקן*; and in so far as it begins על *רַבֵּן* and reads *יהא להון* it corresponds with the rabbinical *יקום פורקן*. This paragraph is therefore a combined prayer both for the congregation (of Israel) and its teachers.

The parallel paragraph of *יהי רצון*⁸ (the third) running *מלפני [אלהי] השמים לקיים לנו את כל חכמי ישראל הם ובניהם ותלמידיהם*⁹ *אמן* (בישראל), otherwise fully parallel to the Kaddish paragraph, has nothing corresponding with the words על ישראל.

ועל-רבֵּן not, as usually *רבֵּן*. *רבֵּן* is itself a nominal form and is not to be regarded with GEIGER¹¹ as *רב* with the suffix of the 1st pers. plur., which would be *רבֵּן*. It occurs in the Targum¹² and has an uncertain history.¹³ According to the general tradition¹⁴ *רבֵּן* is a higher title than *רבי*. T. Eduy 3 4 460 4, implying the same, defines *רבי* as a teacher whose disciples are known, *רבֵּן* one of earlier date whose disciples are already forgotten. In actual usage the title is in Palestine first given to the Patriarchs Gamliel I (30—40 C. E. Acts 22 3), then to his son Simeon, his grandson Gamliel of Yabne (90—110 C. E.) and his great grandson Simeon (fl. 140) After him the Patriarch is called *נשיא* and the title *רבֵּן* loses its official meaning. R. Yoḥanan b. Zaccai, the foremost teacher at the time of the destruction of the Temple is also known as *רבֵּן*. It was used later in the weakened sense of "rabbi, teacher" and applied to any distinguished teacher,¹⁵ and particularly the Exilarch or chief Baby-

⁸ Amram I 24a (), 33a []. GASTER 113 BAER 124 ROMAN 23b. See p. 80 note 7 and p. 98.

⁹ In the modern German text expanded to *ותלמידיהם ותלמידי תלמידיהם* as in the Kaddish and *פורקן*.

¹⁰ In the modern German text and *ונאמר* as in *פורקן*.

¹¹ GEIGER, *Was hat Mohammed* p. 51.

¹² LEVY, *TWB*.

¹³ LEVY, *NHWB*. KOHUT, *Aruch Completum* I אב"י p. 6. Aboth I 16 et seq. SCHÜRER, *GJV*. II 376 DWJ. 272.

¹⁴ From a response of Sherira Gaon. KOHUT's *Aruch Completum* I אב"י p. 6. AD. NEUBAUER, *Anecdota Oxoniensia Preface* p. XII.

¹⁵ Shab 33b 16 119b¹⁹ AZ. 3b²¹ בית רבן J. Ter 8 7 46a³⁸ JBM. 2 13 8d⁴⁰ J. Sanh 10 1 27d¹¹ Targ. Cant 6 5 Ps 80¹¹ Eccl 5 7.

Gen 26 20 to strive,²⁵ is the same as the New Hebrew and Aramaic עסק (poetical Arabic عَشِقَ) "to cling to." The theory that ש in Aramaic is a Hebraism,²⁶ is in the light of old Aramaic inscriptions, especially Palmyrene, not tenable.²⁷ עסק *studere*, is especially used with באוריתא (בתורה),²⁸ the present participle active עֲסָקִין and the passive part. עֲסִיקִין "busied with" occurring indifferently.²⁹ (Yemen Or. 2389 עֲסִיקִין).

בְּאִרְיָה so superlinear vocalisation,³⁰ Syr. **ܬܝܪܝܐ**. The editions all אִרְיָה.

אָבֻדָּרְחָם Abudarham corrects the reading אָבֻדָּרְחָם usual in his day and found in some MSS. e. g. Maimonides GASTER MS. 173. It is found sometimes in old Yemen texts³¹ and in Roman texts.

רְבִּינָן תֵּן referring back to רְבִּינָן in pointed texts is better than תֵּן. Cf. Bibl. Aram. Nabatean and Palmyrene רְבִּינָן, Zenjirli, Egypt. Aram. וְנָה etc.

נח. The Yemen texts read here invariably נח. See p. 52.

שְׁלֵמָה רַבָּא an unnecessary interpolation, but a fixed phrase as in Soferim 14 12 בשלום בהן בהחד וברחמים.

³³ חסד ורחמים and ³² חן וחסד In Biblical Hebrew חסד ורחמים are paired. In New Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic the three terms

(שבר), סבר, (שיד) סיד, (Jer 51 34 ברש) ברם, (Prov 28 2 שִׁבְיָן) מכין, (חרש) חרם, (פרש) פרם, (Job 9 26 מוש) מום and so on.

²⁵ The Targ. תרגומא is to preserve the etymological explanation of the name תרג.

²⁶ In Biblical Aramaic occur שָׁב, שָׁנָא, שָׁנִיא, שָׁהוּתָא, שָׁמַר, שָׁכַל, שָׁכַלְתִּנוּ, שָׁכַלְתִּנוּ (all of which occur in Rabbinical Hebrew, e.g. in DALMAN'S *Wörterbuch*, with ס), and שָׁכַנָא parallel to סָכַנָא.

²⁷ Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. XXIV 1870, 95. Reckendorf, *ib.* XLII 1888, 395. Barth, *ES*. 53 et seq. Berliner, *Beiträge zu Hebr. Gram. im Talmud u. Midrasch (Jahresbericht d. Rabbiner Seminar. 1878/9)* p. 23 ff. D. Gr. 53 66. Bevan, *Daniel* p. 39. Sota 5a 2 בשר כרומה רימה = בשר.

²⁸ Gen 30¹⁸ JI Deut 32⁴ JI and II Eccl 6⁸ 12⁸ 16 Cant 1¹⁵ 4¹⁵ 5¹⁰.
 AZ. 3b₁₀ Kid 30b¹⁰ Ber 17a². Aboth 4¹⁰ בתורה ועמוק ועמוק בתורה.

²⁹ Besides examples in note 28 BACHER, *ETA.* 152.

³⁰ Josh 17⁸ Mic 5¹⁴ Eccl 5¹¹ 6⁸ 12⁸ 16⁸ Cod. Socin. So Sabionetta Gen 49¹¹ but אוריתא Gen 27⁴⁰ Lev 19³² D. Gr. 78 172.

³¹ E. g. in Or. 2389 it is inserted in the margin.

32 Esth 2 17.

²³ Jer 16⁵ Hos 2²¹ Zech 7⁹ Ps 103⁴ Dan 1⁹ Compare Ps 25⁶ 40¹².

occur very frequently together³⁴ owing in a large measure to the alliteration of the ה, which sometimes attracts to them also חין (אריכין). On חסדא see NÖLD., *Mand. Gram.* p. 14 § 16. D., *Gr.* 88 138. βῆθσδσδ John 5 2, if this be the correct reading, would point to חסדא—Compare חסדא. In New Testament times ḥ in a closed syllable,³⁵ as here, was largely pronounced as such: πάσχα³⁶ παββουρί³⁷ are the later פסחא—compare פסחא—רבוני. So too רבי is found later often as רבי. On the other hand Luke 1 15 σίκερα is שִׁכְרָא. The older pronunciation would therefore seem to be חסדא combining both Pathah and Seghol. Many editions e. g. Spanish ed. princ. (owing to the guttural ה?) point חסדא. But the best editions—superlinear, Sabionetta, Reuchlin, Lisbon etc.—read חֶקְרָא.³⁸ A better pronunciation may be חֶקְרָא. In Syriac ܠܥܬܪܐ is disgrace, ܠܥܬܪܐ grace according to GREGORY BAR HEBRAEUS.³⁹—רחמין—Sabionetta Exod 11 3 רחמין or רחמי. This shortened plural in ē occurs in Assyrian, Old Aramaic inscriptions,⁴⁰ especially frequently in Mandaic,⁴¹ apparently also in the New Testament names Βῆθφαγγή (Matth 21 1) ביתפני and Γεθσημανεῖ (Matth 26 36) נת שמני,⁴² and in Onkelos.⁴³ On the form רחמין and its meaning NÖLDEKE, *ZDMG.* XL 1886 151 Note 5.

רחמין The root ארך to be long is used mostly of time, and אריכין (ארוכים) commonly occurs with חין (חיים)⁴⁴ According to NÖLDEKE, *ZDMG.* XL 1886, 724 the root meaning of ארך may be "old." Assyr. *arāku* to be long.

רחמין The plural form רחמין of the Roman and

³⁴ Ber 29b₂ 60b₁₄ Sofer 14 12 Amr. I 55 etc. etc.

³⁵ The LXX often shows α in such cases, where the Masoretic text has i.

³⁶ Josephus. Matth 26 2 etc.

³⁷ Mark 10 51 John 20 16.

³⁸ Cf. Git 7a₁₃ מילין וחסדאין מילין.

³⁹ BAR HEBRAEUS, John 5 2 *ZDMG.* XXXII 1878 750. Compare D. *Gr.* 189

⁴⁰ The Hadad inscription (8th cent. B. C.) 1. 5 שַׁעֲרֵי 1. 31 אַבְנֵי etc. NÖLDEKE. *ZDMG.* XXIV 1870 100. SACHAU, ib. XXXVII 1883 566.

⁴¹ NÖLDEKE, *Mand. Gram.* p. 161 § 131. p. 305.

⁴² D. *Gr.* 190 f. Compare WRIGHT, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* 67 f.

⁴³ Onk. Gen 1 10 14 1 39 20 Deut 30 15 19 etc.

⁴⁴ E. g. Ber 16b₆ Yoma 71a₉.

Spanish (ed. Livorno 1791) texts is more idiomatic.⁴⁵ According to the Talmud Ber 35b¹⁴ all food stuffs are called **מזון**. Further on (Ber 44a¹⁴) **מזונה** is defined as satisfying food, a meal in contrast with **זינות** food, anything eatable. The form **מזון** in Biblical Aramaic is a Hebraism for **מזון**.

מזונה unpointed **מזונה** may have arisen out of the adj. **מזונה**. **מזונה** is in some MSS.⁴⁶ pointed **מזונה**. D., *Gr.* 105 140.

מזונה assured in the German version by **מזונה**.

מזונה **מזונה** This designation,⁴⁷ an expansion of the Biblical **מזונה**,⁴⁸ approximately the same as the very frequent **מזונה**,⁴⁹ appears to be original here. The reading **מזונה** **מזונה** is based on the not infrequent Targumic designation **מזונה**.⁵⁰

The construct **מזונה** in Biblical Aramaic is in later orthography generally **מזונה** Sing. and Plur. But in accordance with the scrupulous care exercised to exclude rigidly every suspicion of plurality as applied to God,⁵¹ the choice here lay between **מזונה** and **מזונה**. **מזונה** even as a Plural would be defensible as equivalent to **מזונה**, **מזונה**, but such ambiguous forms were carefully avoided.

מזונה already in Dan 2 18 5 24 etc., as in **מזונה** of Esth 4 8 etc. —compare Acts 3 19,—used very frequently in the Targum, is the only one of the expressions characteristic of the Targum's avoidance of anthropomorphism and anthropopathism that is met with regularly in Jewish Aramaic outside the Targum. See p. 68.

⁴⁵ **מזונה** in Biblical Hebrew is used only as a collective singular. The plur **מזונה** in Rabbinical Hebrew is common for (various) foods.

⁴⁶ E. g. Or. 2389 GASTER 321.

⁴⁷ Compare Ps 89 12 115 15 121 2 Ezra 5 11 Gen 14 19 Acts 17 24 Pesh. **מזונה**.

⁴⁸ Dan 5 23 Eccl. Rab. to 32 p. 9c.

⁴⁹ Targum to Cant. 19 times (GRÜNSAUM, *ZDMG.* XXXIX 1885 p. 571). J I Gen 9 6 22 1 49 20 27 Exod 12 11 Deut 28 12 34 6 J I Eccl 5 11. Palmyrene DE VOGÜÉ 73 Judith 9 12.

⁵⁰ Targ. Eccl 4 4 11 3 Amram I 52b.

⁵¹ ZUNZ, *Ritus* 39 (the variation between **מזונה** and **מזונה**) may be explained in the same way.

תתקלי חרבא וכפנא ומותנא ומרעין בישין [יעדי¹ מנא [ומנכון] (וכל)
 Abudarham (). Modern Spanish []. [ימעל] עמה [בית] ישראל ואמרו אמן
 The Tur Yore Deah 376 reads ומכל מנא ומותנא ומרעין בישין ואמרו אמן
 עמה בית ישראל ואמרו אמן.

תתקלי מנא ומנכון ומן אנפנא ומן אנפיון ומכל אפנא דכל בית ישראל חמא
 חרבא שרנא פנא מותנא מותנא גלותא מעיקא מחת ידא דסנא ובעל דכבא
 ותיב קדשא בריד הוא תקוף ריגות מנא ומנכון ומן אנפנא ומן אנפיון ומכל-
 לחיים אפנא דכל-בית-ישראל בעגלא ובמן קריב אמרו אמן
 ולשולם. Yemen MS. GASTER 243.

The paragraph is known to Hai Gaon (939—1038) and from him to Isaac Giat (1038—1089) and Nachmanides (1194—1270). It figures too in the burial Kaddish of the Carpentras rite.²

A Persian view of the growing depravity of the world often found a place in Jewish eschatology, and supported from the Bible,³ the Messianic times were pictured as being ushered in by a period of misfortunes and direst distress—חבלי (ו) של המשיח.⁴ Therefore the cessation of woes is among the ten characteristic signs of the glorious future (לעתיד לבוא)⁵ when the desolate cities shall be rebuilt,⁶ peace shall reign,⁷ and weeping⁸ and death⁹ shall cease. This finds expression for instance in the Sibylline Oracles III (753) "Neither war (חרבא) nor drought shall be on earth any more, (754) nor hunger (כפנא) and the fruits of the destructive hail, (755) but great peace on the whole earth." So behind the surface thought of the removal of the temporal calamities and woes of persecution, is the Messianic prayer that the sword may give way to the promised peace among men and beast, that famine and hunger (כפנא) may be turned to plenty and contentment, and that pestilence (מותנא) and evil diseases (ומרעין בישין)

¹ Compare Targ. Isa 25 8.

² LANDSHUTH, בקור חולים p. LXI. MÜLLER

מנחם p. 209.

³ Joel 2 1 et seq. Zach 14 6 et seq. Dan 12 1.

⁴ Mal 3 2 Dan 12 1 Matth 24 6—9 Sota 9 15 Sanh 97a 98a 98b 11. Derech Eretz Zutta 10 beginning Jubilees 23 12 Sibyllines 3 796 Cant. Rab. to 2 13 p. 17 c. d. JELLINEK, BH. II 58 ff.

⁵ Exod. Rab. to 12 2 15. SCHÜRE, GJV. II 631.

⁶ Ezek 16 55.

⁷ Isa 24 9 6 Hos 2 20 Mic 4 3 Zach 9 10 Targ. Isa 11 6 Shab 6 4.

⁸ Isa 65 19 25 8.

⁹ Isa 25 8.

may no longer afflict mankind. According to Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba (3rd cent.)¹⁰ a desolating pestilence (מִוֶּתֶנָּה) will precede the approach of the Messiah. According to R. Yohanan in the second, third and fourth "weeks" preceding the Messianic advent there will be famine (כַּפָּנָה) in varying degrees, and in the seventh "week" wars (חִרְבָּה) with Gog and Magog.

The parallel strophe in יהי רצון¹¹ (the second) runs מלפני [אלהי] השמים לרחם על פליטנו [ולחמול על שאריתנו] ולעצור (את) המגפה ו(את) המשחת [והדבר והרעב והשבי והביזה וגוירות קשות לבמל] מעלינו ומעל [כל] (עמו) ישראל ואמרו אמן לבטל recalls the added יערי of the modern Spanish version. A similar prayer is given in Keth 8b¹¹.

חִרְבָּה is used technically of withholding rain¹² or the plague.¹³

חִרְבָּה וְרָעָב וּמָוֶתֶנָּה the juxtaposition (חִרְבָּה וְרָעָב וּמָוֶתֶנָּה) is a favourite one in Jeremiah, occurring 12 times in that order¹⁴ and twice in a varying order,¹⁵ in Ezekiel 3 times¹⁶ and 5 times in a varying order.¹⁷ The punishments offered to David were רָעָב, חִרְבָּה, דָּבָר.¹⁸ Solomon prays for help if these three afflictions should befall the people 1K 8 33 the sword, 8 35 famine, 8 37 pestilence (= 2 Chr 6 24 26 28), and Jehoshaphat quotes this in his prayer חִרְבָּה וְרָעָב וּמָוֶתֶנָּה (2 Chr 20 9). In Jeremiah the phrase is invariably simple. In Ezekiel it is sometimes inflated with other words such as חִרְבָּה וְרָעָב (5 17 14 21). But it is usually expanded in a way that shows with startling clearness the beginnings of the tradition of Midrashic interpretation by further qualification or specialised application of the words of

¹⁰ Cant. Rabba to 2 13 p. 17c Sanh 97a top.

¹¹ Amram I 24a (), 33a []. GASTER 113 BAER 124 Roman 23b. See p. 80 note 7 p. 92 note 8.

¹² Targ. Gen 8 2 1 Kings 8 35. ZDMG. XLI 1887 605 Note 4 BARTH, and BARTH, ES. 70.

¹³ Num 17 13 15 25 8 O. JI 2 Sam 24 21 25 1 Chr 21 22 Ps 106 30 Assy. kalû to withhold, shut off, hold back.

¹⁴ Jer 14 12 21 9 38 2 24 10 27 8 29 17 f. 32 24 36 42 17 22 44 13.

¹⁵ Jer 21 7 34 17.

¹⁶ Ezek 6 11 7 15b 12 16.

¹⁷ Ezek 5 12 17 6 12 7 15a 14 21.

¹⁸ 1 Chr 21 12 (= 2 Sam 24 13). Cf. Amos 4 10.

the text.¹⁹ E. g. Ezek 6 11 f. הרחוק בְּדָבָר יָפֹל: החרב ברעב ובדבר יפול: הרחוק בְּדָבָר יָפֹל: החרב ברעב ומות וקליתי חמתי במ. Or again Ezek 7 15 החרב בחוץ והדבר והרעב מבית, אשר בשדה בחרב ימות, ואשר בעיר רעב ודבר יאכלנו. Compare also 5 12 where God threatens שלשתיהם בדבר ימותו וברעב יכלו בתוכך והשלשית בחרב יפול as in Lev 26 25 f. והבאתי עליכם חרב . . . ושלתתי דבר . . . בשברי לכם מטה. both being similar Midrashic expansions of the three ideas. This style of exegesis is found also in the book of Daniel e. g. 3 32 f. אתהוי כמה רברבין ותמהוהי כמה. According to both Jerus. Targumim to Exod 20 13—15 and J I to Deut 5 17 חרבא, כפנא, מותא are the punishments for transgressing the 6th, 8th and 7th commandments respectively. They appear as punishments for other transgressions in Aboth 5 8. Dr. SAMUEL DAICHES²⁰ has pointed out similarity of expression in the Babylonian account of the deluge. These three words, therefore, are quite traditional for God sent calamity. Noteworthy is the following passage²¹ אמרי בר נחמני²² הוה כפנא ומותא. אמרי רבנן היכי נעבדי? אתרתי לא ניבעי רחמי, נבעי אמותנא וכפנא נסבול, אמר להן ר' שמואל בר נחמני ניבעי אכפנא דכי ידיב רחמנא שובעא לחיי הוא דידיב דכתיב (Ps 145 16) פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון. ומגלן דלא בעינן רחמי אתרתי? דכתיב (Ezr 8 23) ונצומה ונבקשה מאלהינו. "In the days of R. Samuel the son of Nahmani there were both famine and plague and one knew not how to pray, since one would not pray for both to be removed at once (with reference to Ezr 8 23). R. Samuel decided that one should pray for cessation of the famine, for when the Merciful One gives plenty, it is the living that he satisfies with favor (with reference to Ps 145 16)." In the elaborate וערעי מינוכן of the Yemen MS. GASTER 243 f. 132a occurs גרי חרבא וגרי כפנא וגרי מותא . . . ובכן יתכלי חרבא וכפנא וכל דמעתא. כפנא the invariable equivalent of the Hebrew רעב²³ is according

¹⁹ E. g. on Cant 5 2 quoted p. 4.

²⁰ JQR. 17, 1905 445 f. 451 ff.

²¹ Ta'an 8b. 18 DS.

²² A Palestinian Amora of the 3rd century.

²³ קָן in Job 5 22 30 3 is an Aramaism—Kautzsch, *Aramäismen im Alten Testament* 43. LAGARDE, *Uebersicht* 144 4.

מוֹתָנָא is in the Targum seldom the equivalent of דָּבָר²⁸ for which מוֹתָא more regularly occurs, while מוֹתָנָא stands for מִנְפֶּה, נִגְף etc.²⁹ But both words are used synonymously. מוֹתָא in 2 Sam 24 13 and 1 Kgs 8 37 is in the parallel passages 1 Chr 21 12 2 Chr 6 28 מוֹתָנָא. On דָּבָר J. Yebam 8 3 9 c₁₃.

and באיש, ביש ³⁰ חלים רעים the usual equivalent of ומרעין בישין
מרע are both used for the adjective "ill, sick."³¹

אֶפֶל Afel, not as ed. Sabionetta, followed by JASTROW, Pael, as the Biblical usage shows.³² The more usual pointing in the superlinear system is with closed syllable אֶפֶל but forms like אֶפֶל also occur.³³

The Name קדיש (p. 10).

There is little evidence to show why this prayer should be called קדוש 'holy', as Massecheth Soferim names it,¹ or the emphatic form קדושה.² The adjective here has clearly taken on substantival significance "the holy prayer or praise" but the contents of the paragraphs hardly seem to merit this designation. The holy praise, the

²⁴ Ta'an 19ab מדינתא אמדינתא בצורתא. (See Rashi and Tosafoth). Or again שכיחא ולא ארבעה ארבעה ולא שכיחא. ²⁵ 1 Kgs 18 2. ²⁶ 2 Kgs 6 24—29.

²⁷ Aboth 58 cf. Gen Rab 40 beginning, to Gen 12 10.

²⁸ Lev 26 25 1 Chr 21 12 14 2 Chr 6 28 20 9 Ps 78 50 according to many MSS.

²⁹ Num 14 37 17₁₃—15 25 8 9 18f.

³⁰ Deut 28 59 J I Exod 23 25 O. Eccl 6 2.

³¹ Gen 35 9 J II J. Besa 16 60c₉ Ber 22a₁ Shab 30a¹⁰, J I Gen 48 1 Exod 18 20 Deut 34 6 Ezek 34 4.

³² Dan 2 21 5 20 7 12 26. Cf. SAYCE-COWLEY, *Egypt. Aram.* G. 35.

³³ D. Gr. 345 267 51.

¹ Soferim 16₁₂ 19_{1 12} 21₆.

² Orhoth Hayyim קרישא דרבנן. Buxtorf in his Lexicon p. 598b, perhaps misled by the less common form קרישא, translates אחר השלמת המסכתא קרישא דרבנן "sanctus discipulus Rabbinorum absoluto tractatu dicebit" . . .

prayer dealing with holiness par excellence, would be an inept designation in view of the use of the Trisagion in the liturgy. This threefold "holy" and the recitation of verses dealing with קדש is called קדושה (קדושה). The sanctification of the Sabbath, festivals etc. is called קדושה (קדושה, קדושה) and both these are naturally named. The second word of the prayer ויתקדש (Ezek 36 23 וקדשתי את שמי 38 16 Targ.), certainly not the leitmotiv of the prayer, can hardly be thought to have occasioned its name. It may be that the importance attached to the prayer (Appendix B) earned for it the title קדוש. But in view of the original function of the prayer, it is perhaps more probable that this name is given it for its relatively high degree of holiness as compared with the preceding words of instruction, as being the prayer concluding the discursive teaching of the Aggada, the sacred seal of exalted prayer and praise to the homiletic discourse. Hence also the name קדוש is in Aramaic, since the prayer itself is the Aramaic conclusion to an Aramaic address held in the lecture room where the language in use was Aramaic.

APPENDIX B.

The Kaddish as a mourner's prayer and prayer for the dead (p. 10).

The history of the application of the Kaddish as a mourner's prayer and as a prayer for the dead is by no means clear.¹ Two main tendencies seem to have worked towards it. In the passages A B C D F (Page 8f.) great importance is attached to the (response to the) Kaddish. It is plain that the (response to the) prayer is valued so highly, chiefly in so far as it implies the presence of the people in the synagogue and lecture room, the two pillars that supported Judaism after the destruction of the state, and the consequent praise of God's Name from the mouth of the assembled congregation. In these passages, and in passages like the Targ. to Jud 5 9 (2) לא פסקו מלמדרש באוריתא וכדו יאי להון דיתבין בבתי כנישתא and TBER 2 11 בריש גלי ומלפני ית עמא פתגמא אוריתא ומברכין ומודין קדם ה'

¹ DALMAN, *Saat auf Hoffnung* XXVII 1890 p. 169ff. touches upon some points in connection with the mourning Kaddish. Also OBERMEYER *Modernes Judentum im Morgen- und Abendland*, Vienna 1907 pp. 91-143.

מקצה תבל מליהם (Ps 19 5) אלו האגדות שמקדשן את שמו הגדול בהן the emphasis is laid on the gathering of the people in the "houses of assembly" and their responsive praise to the Aggada delivered there. In Shab 119b ²⁶ the mystic Joshua b. Levi (3rd cent.) says (K. p. 43) כל העונה אמן יהא שמה רבא מברך בכל כחו קורעין לו גזר דינו של שבעים with אישר"מ "the evil decree is annulled for him who responds with complete devotion", and in a קדיש ליהודי in Amram's Siddur and the Maḥzor Vitry p. 55 in a quotation from an older Midrash work of the nature of the mystic היכלות, the evil decrees against Israel are pictured as kept back day by day through this response of the people. The transference of significance in this from the mystic passage F where this response of the sufferers in Gehinnom procures for them instant relief and the gates of Paradise are opened to them, can be clearly traced. The value is attached to the praise of the response alone, no longer to the implied meaning of it, and this perversion of the importance attached to the response is completed in the oft occurring late legend³ of Akiba teaching the son of a man who was suffering in Gehinnom to say Kaddish or ברכו, thereby procuring relief from punishment for the boy's father

Furthermore, complementing the idea of ancestral merit, great importance was attributed to having a son. The mystic Simeon b. Yoḥai says (Ta'an 5b ₁₀) מה זרעו בחיים אף הוא בחיים "One lives in one's (male) children." Again he says: (BB. 116a ⁹) כל שאינו מניח בן "God is full of condemnation for him who leaves no son to take his place", or (ib. 116a ₉) דוד שהניח בן כמותו

² Text as Dikduke Soferim. See the note of Jacob Tam (1100—1171) in Tosafoth ib. Midr. Ps 31 s p. 240. Exod. Rab 74.

³ Massecheth Callah ed. CORONEL. Vienna 1864 4b 19b; Pseudo TBEZ 17 end (of Yoḥanan b. Zaccai); Midrash 'Asereth Hadibbroth JELL. BH I 80f.; Maḥzor Vitry p. 112; Orḥoth Ḥayyim II ed. SCHLESINGER p. 601 (ר' פלוני), quoted by Isaac b. Sheshet, Responsum 115, as in Kol Bo § 114 הלכות אבל ed. Venice p. 133; Isaac of Vienna ed. Zhitomir 1862 Pt. 2 p. 11b; Menorath ha Maor I 1 12 in two versions; Baḥye b. Asher's commentary to שופטים end to Deut 21 s; ראשית חכמה of Elijah b. Moses de Vidas (16th cent.) on נידול בנין ed. Amsterdam 1736 p. 286b; נשמת חיים of Manasseh b. Israel II 27; סדר הדורות Beth Joseph to Tur. Yore Deah 376; רות to זוהר חדש § 200, ר' רחומאי פתח, told of Joseph to Tur. etc. etc. See further RĒJ. XLI 1900 p. 165 SAL. REINACH; OBERMEYER, *Modernes Judentum* pp. 98—119; FRIEDMANN Introd. to the Tanḥuma p. 52b.

נאמרה בו שכיבה. יואב שלא הניח בן כמותו נאמרה בו מיתה (1 Kgs 11 21) "Of David who left a son worthy of himself it is said that he slept; of Joab who had no son who inherited his greatness it is said that he died" (1 K 11 21). The verse Isa 29 22 בית יעקב אשר פדה את אברהם was interpreted of Jacob's having redeemed Abraham.⁴ According to the same school the dead require an atonement,⁵ and none could effect this better than the son or grandson—ברא מזכי אבא (Sanh 104a 28) "the son vindicates the father." The son when repeating a teaching of his father within twelve months of the father's death should not say 'Thus said my father', but 'Thus said my honored father, (may I be an expiation for him)' לא יאמר . . . כך אמר אבא אלא כך אמר אבא מרי הריני כפרת משכבו . . .⁶ As we see in the Akiba legend, where ברכו is equivalent to reading the prayers, the son best confers saving merit on the father by taking some part in the synagogue service in which he is the mouthpiece of the congregation, so that all may see that he is following in his father's footsteps. So too in TBER. 18 99 when the son of the dead man reads the law in the synagogue or participates actively in the discussions of the study house, the people bless Thy great Name through him על ידיו לשמך הגדול (i. e. עם הארץ Isa 29 22 based on Isa 29 22), or TBEZ. 12 194 (יהא שמיא רב' מב), or TBEZ. 12 194 based on Isa 29 22—"an unlearned man is rescued from the punishment of Gehinnom by his son who has studied the Torah."

Thus summing up, we see on the one hand the utmost importance attributed to the Kaddish, and its recital attended with the most far reaching results, according to the tradition of the mystics; and on the other hand, we have the idea fully worked out of the redeeming power for the parent of the orphan's recital of prayers to which there were congregational responses. These two streams of thought naturally met, resulting in the custom of the orphan's saying Kaddish or

⁴ Gen. Rab 63 תולדות beginning, to Gen 25 19, TBEZ. 12 194.

⁵ Sifre 210 to Deut 21 8 end of שומעין p. 112b Pesikta Rabbathi 95b שם תאמר כיון שירד לניהלם אין לו תעלה כיון שמבקשים עליו רחמים ורוק אותו מניהלם כחץ מן הקשת. Cf. J. Sanh 10 5 29c 25.

⁶ Kidd 31b ¹⁰ Compare Succ 20a 7 Neg 21 Sanh 21 T. Sanh 41 420 12.

⁷ Compare TBER. 17 87 f.

ברכו, the essence of both of these being their similar responses. According to the Mahzor Vitry, as in the Akiba legend, the orphan says ברכו או קדיש at the close of the Sabbath when the souls return to Gehinnom. Now the *locus classicus* for the power of the son to redeem the father is Isa 29 22f. **אל בית יעקב אשר פדה לכן כה אמר ה' אל בית יעקב ולא עתה פניו יתקרו: כי בראתו ילדיו מעשה את אברהם לא עתה יבוש יעקב** "Jacob shall no more be ashamed (Dan 12 2) when he sees his children sanctifying the Name of his God," and from this emphasis on the sanctification (קדיש), the Kaddish has displaced ברכו in this application and remained the mourner's prayer par excellence.

Although S. REINACH⁸ traces the origin of prayers for the dead among the Jews in Egypt⁹ etc. to Alexandrian teachings and in Greece, Asia Minor and Italy to Orphic influence, ISRAEL LÉVI¹⁰ finds no certain traces of them before Gaonic times. The Kaddish is in its contents anything but a prayer for the dead: **השכבה, השכבה, גיהנום נפשא, אשכבתא**,¹¹ and in its original application to mourning it was also not a prayer for the dead in the true sense of the term. But in popular practice it became one. Hence we find many protests against this use of it. In 107 Hai Gaon is quoted as protesting against such intercession.¹² R. Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi (d. c. 1136 Barcelona) wrote in **הגיון הנפש בניו**:¹³ **זבני עמו שהם עושים בגללו אחרי מותו ומתפללים בעדו שהם מועילים לו, מחשבות** "They buoy themselves up with vain hopes who reckon on the actions and prayers of their sons benefiting them after death. This too is the opinion of all good authorities." ABRAHAM HURWITZ (16th century) in **יש האב יצוה לבניו להתקין באיזה מצוה** p. 35 Introd. wrote similarly **ואם מקיימין אותו נחשב יותר מן הקדיש. ואם כך אפילו יש לו בת יש לו חקנה זו. דקדיש זה אינו תפלה שתפלל הבן על האב לפני ה' שיעלהו משאול אלא זכות ומצוה הוא למת כשבנו מקדש השם יתברך ברבים והקהל יענה**

⁸ R.E.J. XLI 1900 161 et seq.

⁹ 2 Macc 12 43 from which the masses for the dead grew up in the Church. A. L. GREEN and W. H. LOWE *Jewish Chronicle* 1880 May 21st. to July 30th.

¹⁰ R.E.J. XXIX 1894 48 et seq.

¹¹ ZUNZ, *Nachtrag to Literatur-Geschichte* 1.

¹² See Baḥye b. Asher to Deut 21 8; compare WARNHEIM **קבוצת חכמים**.

¹³ Ed. FREIMANN, Leipzig 1860 p. 32. RAPOPORT's Preface to it p. 58.

expresses himself²⁰ **כי חיי יכול לבקש להקל דין המת**. "The living may seek to lighten the punishment of the dead by prayer".

The use of the mourning Kaddish was in the course of time extended also to the anniversary of the parent's death, the "Jahr-zeit" among the German Jews, although this application of it, first found in Maharil, remained strange to the Jews of Spain and the Orient, until it was adopted through a cabbalistic explanation given it by Isaac Luria of Safed.²¹ The origin of the custom is perhaps to be sought in the persecutions and massacres aroused by the fanaticism of the Crusaders when thousands of Jews met a martyr's death and whole communities, especially along the Rhine, were wiped out. The custom then grew up²² of holding memorial services for the martyred, for which special prayers **יזכור**, **אב הררמים** etc. were composed. From a communal mourning service, the individual naturally passes to an individual one.

In later times the application of this Kaddish was extended by allowing grandchildren to say it for their grandparents, parents for children, pupils for teachers, and for relatives and friends and even for complete strangers.²³ Permission too has been given for daughters to say it where there were no sons,²⁴ and also to say it on the Sabbath, where, as a prayer for the dead, it should be superfluous, as even Gehinnom rests on the Sabbath.²⁵

²⁰ Rokeach 217.

²¹ **מקור** p. 32. VITAL *Peri Es Hayyim* ed. Lemberg 1864 p. 13 b. **מקור** אבר. LEWYSON § 98. Compare MANASSER B. ISRAEL **נשמת חיים** 2 27; **ספר חסידים** ed. WISTINETZKI § 356 (= 241 of the editions).

²² ZUNZ, *Zur Geschichte* 319. *Nachtrag zur Literaturgeschichte* 4.

²³ Caro, additional note to *Tur Yore Deah* 403, *Shulhan Aruch Yore Deah* 376⁴, *Orah Hayyim* 132² Isserles in the name of earlier authorities, *Pahad Yisḥak*. See too *Ber* 12b¹⁴ *TBER.* 315 = *Yalkut II* 593 to *Malachi* 3 21 for the intercession of the righteous. *MAHARIL Responsum* 64.

²⁴ ABRAHAM HORWITZ quoted p. 104. Against the permission, Isserles *Shulhan Aruch Yore Deah* 402¹². *Hayyim Yair Bacharach* (1639—1702) *Responsum* 222 in *Havvoth Yair* (ed. Frankfurt am Main 1699 p. 208).

²⁵ Isaac of Corbeil 1270 quoted by Isserles *Shulhan Aruch Yore Deah* 376⁴. Cf. *Shib. ha Leket Shab.* 81.

APPENDIX C.

The Kaddish in the Synagogue Service (p. 10).

In the time of Massecheth Soferim¹ the synagogue service apparently began with the summons *ברכו את ה' המבורך* and the Kaddish; and the Kaddish closed the reading of the Law² and the whole service. Its function was similar in the time of Maimonides³ and of Rashi,⁴ and although disguised by additions to the liturgy, the same holds good in general of the modern application of it. The rule that praise must always precede the recitation of the Kaddish *לעולם אין אומרים קדיש בלא תהלה שלפניו* preserves a correct tradition.

The shortest form of the Kaddish, the half Kaddish—*חצי קדיש*, consisting of the first two paragraphs up to *דאמירן בעלמא*, forms part of every Kaddish and is sometimes said alone after a part of a service. This together with *תתקבל*, *קדיש בתרא*, *קדיש נמור*, *קדיש שלום* and *יהא שלמא* forms the *קדיש שלם* said after *תפלה*, especially the *תפלה* par excellence, the Shemone 'Esre. Maimonides gives the rule: *כל קדיש שאומר שלום*. *צבור אחר* *שנומר התפלה* שאינו אומר אחריו כלום אלא כל העם שומעין אותו. *ומפסידין נהגו העם להסיף בסופן גססה זו תתקבל* . . . The Cingalese-Cochin rite for the festival of the Rejoicing of the Law has an elaborated version of it (p. 22a—23b). Following on the paragraph *תתקבל* are (1) *תתבני קרתא* (See p. 108), (2) *תשתלח אסותא* and (3) *ייתין* (See p. 13 note 12), (4) a working up of the theme of *תכתבו כלכם בספר חיים ותראו בשמחת ירושלם ותשמחו בבנין* (5) *תתקבל*, (6) a rhymed *רצון* about Jerusalem and the Messiah ending *אמן* *יהא שלמא* (p. 70), (7) *אב הרהמן* beginning (8) three paragraphs beginning *עושה שלום במרומיו הוא ברחמי יעשה שלום על כל ישראל* . . . *דכירין* (p. 16), (11) *עושה שלום* (p. 75).

With the omission of the paragraph *תתקבל* we get the mourner's Kaddish, *קדיש אָבֶל*, *קדיש יתום*. Massecheth Soferim 19 1 p. 262 omits the whole of the Kaddish from the morning service of the

¹ Soferim 10 8 16 12 19 1 21 6.

² According to Responsum 321 of Isaac b. Shesheth (1326—1408), sometimes after each reading when there was more than one.

³ Hilchoth Tefilla 9 and *נוסח הקדיש*.

⁴ Rashi Pardes.

fast of the 9th of Ab. A more general custom of the same sort is to omit תתקבל as a sign of the deepest mourning, in connection with Lam. 3 8,⁵ sometimes also יהא שלמא.⁶

לחרתא, לתברך, ותבלי, יהא שלמא and יהא עושה שלום make up the burial Kaddish, used also in the Spanish rite on the fast of the 9th Ab.

לחרתא, לתברך, על ישראל, יהא שלמא and יהא עושה שלום form the study house Kaddish in the Orient, while the half Kaddish, על ישראל etc. constitute that of the Occident.⁷ In the burial Kaddish of the Yemen rite after דאמירן בעלמא וא' אמן the following paragraph, practically identical with (1) of the Cochin Kaddish (p. 107),⁸ is inserted: תתבני קרתא דירושלם ויתוב פולחנא דשמיא לאתריה [בהדרה בווייה: וביקריה בחיינא] בחייכון (וביומכון) ובתי דכל בית ישראל בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן. This is followed by a paragraph beginning יתבלי (p. 97).

The special form of the Kaddish found in some German rituals for the commemoration service⁹ is quite modern, as is also its Hebrew form in some modern service books. The קריש דיחיד is a mystical meditation for the individual while the Kaddish is recited by the officiant. Four examples are given in Amram,¹⁰ but they are not found in later manuals.

The Kaddish closing each part of a service is repeated in one form or other many times throughout the day. שבע ביום הללתיך (Ps 119 164) is specially applied to the Kaddish by the Geonim. On the other hand its too frequent repetition has not infrequently been attacked.¹¹

According to the old ruling of the Talmud¹² based on Lev 22 32 "words of holiness and sanctification need a religious quorum of ten males for their recitation." Therefore the Kaddish, "the holy prayer," in origin too a congregational prayer, always requires the presence of a quorum of ten

⁵ Mordecai to Ta'an 635.

⁶ Abudarham.

⁷ Shibbole ha Lekēṭ 8.

⁸ Yemen MS. GASTER 243 [], Cochin ().

⁹ Beginning על ישראל ועל צדיקא ועל כל מן דאתפטר מן עלמא הדין. It is the old Hashcaba formula (p. 16) put into the form of a paragraph of the Kaddish.

¹⁰ Amram I 3b 12b 13b 14b in one MS only.

¹¹ SAMUEL ABOAB דבר שמואל No. 183. ZUNZ, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*² 494 note d. Ḥayye Abraham of Abraham Piperno § 70. Keneseth Hagedolah to Tur Orach Ḥayyim 553.

¹² Ber 21b 15 Meg 23b 18.

adult freeborn males (מגן) for its recitation.¹³ Massecheth Soferim 16 12 disapproves of a child saying the Kaddish for the congregation.

Nahshon, Gaon of Sura 874—882 appears to have originated the custom of bowing at 5 (4) different places in the Kaddish,¹⁴ which is almost always said standing.¹⁵ This attitude for prayer goes back to the earliest times. The name עמידה for the Shemone 'Esre is characteristic. ואין עמידה אלא תפלה "standing implies prayer" (Ber 26 b¹⁹) is based on Ps 106 30 ויעמד פינחס ויפלל. The usual phrase in the Mishna is עמד להתפלל.¹⁶ Biblical support is derived for the rule of standing for a דבר שבקדושה from Jud 3 20: ויאמר אהוד דבר אלהים לי אליך ויקם מעל הכסא.

The Karaite prayer book has rejected the Kaddish but contains echoes of it.

According to R. Joshua b. Levi one should give the response כהו אמן יהא שמיה ר"מ בכל כהו (Shab 119 b²⁰). Cf. Midr. Ps 31 8. This can only be understood in the same way as phrases such as למי כהו Ber 56 b¹³ i. e. "intensely, with full devotion." Nevertheless frequent protests have been raised against shouting this response; and from the word כה a mass of mystical interpretation has been spun out. The same school of mystics has specified dread punishments for those who talk during the recitation of the prayer.¹⁷

¹³ Ber 7 3 47 b 48 a and Tosafoth. Sanh 1 6 Meg 4 3 Soferim 10 8 16 12 end, Meg 23 b Tosafoth ואין מורסין Ber 8 a Lament. Rab 3 3 Shulhan Aruch Oraḥ Hayyim 55. For substitutes for the Kaddish when there are less than 10 present, ספר חסידים ed. WISTNETZKI § 510 (= 18 of the editions) BAEK p. 120 f.

¹⁴ Connected with the 5 (4) mentions of God in Mal 1 11, the Targum to which shows affinities with the wording of the Kaddish. Tur Oraḥ Hayyim 56. Rashi Pardes etc. See further Ber 31 a Tosafoth ומצאנו and רש"י ibid. MÜLLER p. 131.

¹⁵ Soferim 21 6 עומדים. Shulhan Aruch Oraḥ Hayyim 56 אברהם מן. Luria 19. נגיד ומצוה.

¹⁶ 1 Sam 1 26 1 Kgs 8 22 55 Job 30 20 Neh 9 4 Ber 5 1 עומדים להתפלל Ta'an 2 2 Ber 10 b¹⁴ המתפלל צריך שיכוון את רגליו עמוד בתפלה. Ber 10 b¹⁴ 20 Matth 6 5 Luke 18 11 13 Mark 11 25. Didascalia often II 55 57 etc. e. g. ed. MARGARET GIBSON fol. 12 a 45 a. *ܡܬܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܥܠܡܐ*. Probst, *Katechese und Predigt* p. 136.

¹⁷ Derech Ereṣ Zuṭṭa according to Shibbole ha-Leṣeṭ 8. Ha-Manhig Ch. 4. to Shulhan Aruch Oraḥ Hayyim 56 57 2. Orḥoth Hayyim. Sefer Ḥassidim. Falk to Tur Oraḥ Hayyim 56. According to the Gaon Nahshon, the response must be repeated by the reader, MÜLLER p. 131.

Responses are inserted at various points in the prayer, mostly at syntactically inappropriate places. The **אמן** after the fourth word **רבה** breaks up the sentence, but has the support of authority from Amram downwards and of universal custom. Some (e. g. the Spanish Jews) insert an **אמן** between **משיחיה** and **בהייכון**, and in the burial Kaddish between **ויקריה** and **בהייכון**. Others¹⁸ require an **אמן** after **ויתברך** and others again¹⁹ one after **ברוך הוא**. To both, the Tur notes that modern custom does not recognise them, while to the latter, Amram himself remarks that although supposed to be said, it is usually not said. The present custom differs, the Germans responding **קודשא בריך הוא** to **קודשא בריך הוא**, the Spanish Jews **אמן** to **קודשא בריך הוא**. All these responses mar the unity of the sentence in which they are given. On **חיים** see p. 73.

אמן in modern times closes each paragraph, it being introduced by **ואמרו**. The paragraph **תתקבל** according to the Minhag of Maimonides and Yemen²⁰ is not sealed with **אמן ואמרו** as it itself is a response of the congregation. In **עושה שלום** many texts²¹ omit **אמן ואמרו**; modern rites insert it. The practice of interjecting Biblical verses during the recitation of a prayer is discountenanced by the Talmud.²² Nevertheless the Minhag is old of responding at **יתגדל** with Num 14 17²³ and Ps 25 6,²⁴ the former owing probably to the connecting link of the word **כה** of special importance to the Cabbalists such as Luria (cf. Shab. 119b²⁵).²⁵ At **תתקבל** the congregation commonly interjects **קבל ברחמים וברצון את תפלתנו** words occurring in the 16th paragraph of the Shemone 'Esre. The custom is later of interjecting Ps 113 2 at **יהא שלמה** and Ps 121 2 at **עושה שלום**. The practice of inserting these verses and the inappropriate **Amens** is largely the result of congregational impatience. In the Mozarabic

¹⁸ Amram, Maimonides, Tur and Shulhan Aruch Orah Hayyim 56.

¹⁹ Amram, Seadya, Maimonides, Chinese. ²⁰ Yemen Or. 2418 adds **אמן ואמרו**.

²¹ Amram, Maimonides, some Genizah fragments, old Carpentras, Lille, Old Italian, Yemen Or. 1479, GASTER 321 etc.

²² Sota 40a top Shulhan Aruch Orah Hayyim 128 26.

²³ Tur Orah Hayyim 56, Isserles to Shulhan Aruch ibid. quoting Mordecai to Berachoth.

²⁴ Ibid. Said by Nahmanides **שערי תשובה** to Shulhan Aruch ibid. note 5.

²⁵ Cf. VITAL *Peri Es Hayyim* **שערי הקריש**, *Maṭteh Moshe* § 71, 73.

²⁶ Compare Isa 49 8 Ps 19 15 69 14 Targum to Cant 1 16 etc.

liturgy of the Church, the Paternoster was "broken up with *Amens* and other responses, a peculiarity which bespeaks extreme antiquity."²⁶ Perhaps too, the desire to add some response after the mention of God's Name influenced the insertion of the inappropriate *אמן* after *יהא שלמא רבא מן דיים* and *קדשא בריך הוא* and *שמיא רבא שמיא*.

APPENDIX D.

The Kaddish and the Paternoster (p. 21).

Matthew 6

- 9b Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
 9c ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου
 10a ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου
 10bc γενήθω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν
 οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

[אבוהון דבשמיא]
 יתקדש שמיא רבא
 ימלך מלכותיה (בדייבון)
 כרעותיה בעלמא

Compare Luke 11 2b.

These verses 9b—10 form the first half of the prayer. The corresponding members (ver. 11—13) that form the second half of the prayer can have no relationship to the Kaddish as they are personal requests dealing with (11) food, (12) debts and (13) temptation. HARNACK¹ regards ver. 9b—10 as directly borrowed from the traditional Jewish prayers at a very early date, thus, though doubting their authenticity in the mouth of Jesus, giving us for the purpose of comparison just the same age for the Kaddish-like original as does the traditional view that regards them as an original part of the prayer. (See p. 22.) The similarity between the two prayers is much greater than might appear at first sight. For although the expressions are so simple, it is the coincidence in order that is of weight. It must be remembered also that the original of the Paternoster was in Aramaic, both Greek versions using a common source. (Compare the rare word *ἐπιούσιος*). Furthermore the fact of the Kaddish being in the 3rd person debars any

²⁶ J. E. FIELD, *The Apostolic Liturgy* p. 469.

¹ See page 22, note 58 etc.

opening address corresponding with 9b. This address, although the corresponding term *אֱלֹהֵינוּ רַב־שֵׁמָיָה* occurs in a later portion of the prayer, needs no attesting, as "Jesus took this designation of God from the popular usage of his time."²

G. KLEIN³ has shown the complete conformity of the Pater-noster with Jewish norms of prayer. He traces the whole of it back to Ezek 36 especially ver. 23—31, just as we see that the Kaddish goes back to the Messianic chapter of Gog and Magog Ezek 38 especially verse 23. Verses 9c and 10a have their exact equivalent in the Kaddish except for the difference of person. 10bc is best construed as generally supplementing 9c 10a in thought, as *כְּרֵעוּתָהּ* and *בְּעֵלְמָהּ* must be construed with *יִתְקַדֵּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ* and *יְמִלִּיךְ מַלְכוּתָהּ* (p. 28, 33). *בְּעֵלְמָהּ* understood in its expanded form (p. 32) *הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְהָעוֹלָם הַבָּא* gives a closer parallel to 10c.

Hence, although both the Greek and Aramaic versions very naturally contain slight elements peculiar to themselves, the agreement between them is so close and so exact in main features and in almost all details, that their essential unity of origin is undeniable.⁴

APPENDIX E.

Antiphonal recitation (p. 45).

Doubling of whole verses is found elsewhere especially in the *שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת* Psalms, e. g. Ps 121 1—2, 3—4, 5—6, 7—8, Ps 122 1, 2—3, 4—5, 6—7, 8—9. Ps 129 1 (the summons), 2—3, 4—5, 6—7, 8 etc. Verse by verse recitation of Ps 134 by two Levite choirs (without doubled verses) is described in T. Succ 4 7, 199 *אֵת בָּרְכוּ אֵת* *מִה הוּא אֹמֵר הִנֵּה בָּרְכוּ אֵת*

² D. WJ. 154 "*Jesus hat diese Bezeichnung Gottes dem Volksgebrauche seiner Zeit entnommen*".

³ *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft u. d. Kunde des Urchristentums* VII 1906.

⁴ The wild efforts of ERICH BISCHOFF (*Jesus und die Rabbinen* p. 73 ff.) to discredit every trace of Jewish thought in Jesus' teaching are robbed of every vestige of scientific worth by their blind, polemical partizanship. LIGHTFOOT, SCHEIDT, SCHÖTTGEN, VITRINGA, OTHO, THOLUCK, CH. TAYLOR, WÜNSCHE, DALMAN, HARNACK and very many others in calm, deliberate judgment recognise the Jewish origin of the Paternoster, here shown to hold good in every detail.

ה' כל עברי ה'. יש מהן אומר שאו ידיכם קודש וברכו את ה'. כשהיו נפטרין ending with Ps 128 5. 6 instead of the expected Ps 134 3. GRAETZ¹ treats Ps 118 19ff. as a dialogue between two choirs, one within the Temple and one without. Ps 24 is clearly dramatic.

The alphabetical Psalm of praise Ps 145 is found in the earliest forms of synagogue and temple services.² The ג verse being missing, it has only 21 verses, an old number that would create an awkwardness in alternating recitation. In verse one the leader would give the leitmotiv ועד לעולם שמך לעולם, returning to it in verse 21 with ויברך כל בשר שם קדשו לעולם ועד. To this the congregation would have no response. And for this reason apparently the ancient custom of adding in conclusion the apt verse Ps 115 18: ואנחנו נברך יה מעתה ועד עולם: arose. The custom of adding this verse, connected with the Psalm as far back as can be traced, has never been accounted for, but is easily intelligible as necessitated by the scheme of antiphonal recitation.

The response in half verses, the מקרה reading the first half of the verse, the congregation completing it, is still more instructive and seems to be of far reaching importance.

To take an instance from Ps 135—Ps 136 being the same Psalm arranged in the form of a litany—ver. 5a (sing.) looks as if read by the מקרה, 5b (plur.) by the congregation, and ver. 19a—b 20a—b were almost certainly antiphonally recited. Examples like the Song of Moses (Exod 15) אוז ישר משה ובני ישראל or the song of Deborah (Jud 5) ותשר דבורה וברק point to a kind of dialogue between two persons, the parallelism in these songs³ bearing this out entirely.

This method of reciting poetry seems to be at the bottom of

¹ GRAETZ, *MGWJ.* XXVIII 1879 210. In Midr. Sam. 197 p. 52b Samuel ben Nahman assigns different parts of Ps 118 21—24 to David, Jesse, Samuel, David's brothers, and all of them together. See the Targum ib. ver. 28 to end. Cf. BACHER, *MWJ.* 1872 415.

² Compare Ber 4b האומר תהלה לרוד בכל יום ג' פעמים מובטח לו שהוא בן עולם הבא.

³ Exod 15 2a—b c—d, 3a—b, 4a—b, 5a—b, 6a—b and so on all through. Similarly in Jud 5, note especially v. 7 שקמתי 2nd sing. fem. (Deborah); Barak sings דבורה עם דבורה, Deborah answers בן ברק ויששכר 15a—b. See PAUL RUBIN, *JQR.* X 1898 541 et seq.

parallelism, the characteristic of Hebrew poetry. There are two voices heard, one the leader giving the thought, the other (a chorus?) answering, repeating the thought in varying words (*synonymous parallelism*) or developing it (*antithetic and synthetic parallelism*). The phenomenon could not be more striking than in the examples of the above two songs. *This explanation of palillogical parallelism by two voices*—often female voices⁴—is the most natural interpretation of the anadiplosis and epanalepsis that distinguish Hebrew poetry. Seeking the origin of this swinging dithyrambic form in two singers, the absence of rhyme is fully intelligible; and it is readily seen why all attempts to discover an exact metre in Hebrew poetry, have resulted only in making it certain that nothing but the rhythm of parallelism and the consequent stresses dominate Hebrew poesy.⁵

Naturally once primitive poetry had received this recognised form, one singer could take the double part; or the poet in later times could compose for both voices, and knowing his own thought could develop it much more freely in the required form. Hence we cannot hope to find the two voices in much of the comparatively late poetry of the Old Testament. But undoubtedly many fresh points of view could be obtained by applying this principle in very many cases.⁶ As an example Ps 115 9—18 might be set out as a joyous dialogue between the priests and the people. The priests call upon the people on some occasion of festive gladness to bless the Lord; the people after apparent wavering, do so. Thus:

כהנים. ישראל במח בה' — עורם ומנגם הוא⁷
קהל. בית אהרן במחו בה' — עורם ומנגם הוא

⁴ E. g. 1 Sam 18 7 2 Sam 1 20 24 Jud 11 40 Ex 15 20 etc.

⁵ All the investigations of BICKELL, SIEVERS etc. have proved nothing more certainly than this.

⁶ D. H. MÜLLER, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, also in *Strophenbau und Responson*; FELIX PERLES, *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1896 103 etc. PAUL RUBEN, *JQR.* XI 1899 431 et seq. ZENNER, *Die Chorgesänge im B. der Psalmen* 1896. KÖNIG, *Stylistik* 1900 347 ff. have gone to work on similar lines, but mostly on an ambitious scale that necessitates forced emendations of the text, and cutting it about to an almost impossible degree.

⁷ *analogous to ברכו Ps 135 19 20.*

כ' יראי ה' במחו כה' — עזרם ומגנם הוא	ק' ה' זכרנו יברך ⁸
כ' יברך את בית ישראל	ק' יברך את בית אהרן
כ' יברך יראי ה'	ק' הקטנים עם הגדולים? ⁹
כ' יספ' ה' עליכם ¹⁰	ק' עליכם ועל בניכם ¹¹
כ' ברוכים אתם לה' עשה שמים וארץ	ק' השמים שמים לה' והארץ נתן לבני אדם ¹²
כ' לא המתים יהללו יה ולא כל יורדי דומה ¹³	ק' ואנחנו נברך יה מעתה ועד עולם. ¹⁴

This illustration may not be convincing. The connections could be differently caught and interpreted, just as the Song of Songs is open to varying schemes of dialogue division owing to the difficulty of allotting the words to the different conjectural speakers. But the example is sufficient to show that the system is rich in possibilities of interpretation.

APPENDIX F.

The so called "Burial Kaddish" (p. 80).

There can be little doubt that the original function of this Kaddish was exercised in the study house, as the analogies of similar endings show. This was the custom of Maimonides¹ who writes כל עשרה מישראל או יותר שעוסקין בתלמוד תורה שעל פה ואפילו

⁸ The Lord who has been mindful of us up to now will bless us.

⁹ That would be blessing the unworthy (הקטנים the people) and the worthy (הגדולים the priests) together!

¹⁰ Not so, God will (or may God) increase you.

¹¹ Nay rather *you* and *your* children.

¹² Catching up the reference to heaven and earth.

¹³ Playing on the meaning "earth (grave) he has allotted to the sons of men". Nay, those who return to the dust cannot praise God.

¹⁴ So *we* the living will bless ...

¹ This contradicts what is written in the commentary of 'Maimonides' to the additional (6th) chapter of Aboth (end). But this commentary is more correctly attributed to Rashi. See Talmud, edit. Vilna Aboth p. 15.

במדרשות או בהגדות כשהן מסיימין אומר אחד מהן קדיש בנוסח זו 'יהגדל ויה' . . . בעל דעתיד . . . 'שם רב' 'When ten have been studying the traditional law together, or even the Midrash or Aggada, at the close, one of them says the following Kaddish . . .', and this is for the most part the custom in the Orient today. But the history of this fuller Kaddish is almost a repetition of that of the simple Kaddish. Similar influences that made of the older Kaddish a prayer for the dead (Appendix B), early made of this version a prayer at the graveside. The immediate occasion for this transference may have been the reference to the Resurrection² (c). For centuries³ this version has in the Occident been regarded as the burial Kaddish; and if we may rely on the text of Massecheth Soferim and a suggested interpretation for it, we get an approximate Gaonic date for this transference. In Soferim 19¹² 4 it is prescribed that during the additional service on the Sabbath morning, when mourners are present in synagogue, the reader should go from his place to the synagogue door where they stand, to comfort them with the ברכת אבל and then he, the reader, says the Kaddish closing the additional service, ואין אומר בעלמא דעתיד לחדתא אלא על התלמוד ועל הדרש⁵ and he does not say the Kaddish לחדתא to the mourners for it is said only over the study of the law and its homiletic exposition". The text understood in this way is warning against the growing custom of applying this Kaddish לחדתא to mourning occasions. This transference was all the easier because addresses of comfort were delivered in the seven days of deepest mourning,⁶ and the Kaddish that closed these became dissociated from the address and associated with the mourning.

However, the text of this passage as known to Nahmanides (1194—1270) ran תלמיד הדרשן "the Kaddish לחדתא is not

² The consolation of Jerusalem (d) also, has traditionally always been coupled with that of mourners over the dead Isa 66 13 Amram 1 55 Tur Yore Deah 379. ספר חסידים ed. WISTINETZKI p. 97 § 305 (= editions § 233) says שבירושלם יתנו מתים זה המעם אומרים בצידוק הדיון (!) לאחיהא מתייא.

³ Shulhan Aruch Yore Deah § 376 4 עכשיו is significant.

⁴ MÜLLER gives a different interpretation p. 279.

⁵ T. Ber 3 23 f. 8 12 et seq. Ber 46 b 6 Keth 8 b 25.

⁶ Examples collected by L. DUKES, *Rabbinische Blumenlese* 247—263.

said except over a scholar".⁷ But this text is probably corrupted in harmony with the then prevalent custom and it cannot be preferred in the face of the evidence brought from ancient usage (p. 80) and from Maimonides that the Kaddish **להדרתא** is an old doxology to the Aggada, especially in view of the fact that Massecheth Soferim does not know of a mourner's Kaddish. On the contrary, in the above quotation it is the reader, not the mourner, who recites the Kaddish.

A second transference has been made in the Spanish rite where this Kaddish⁸ has been adopted also for the fast of the 9th of Ab, the emphasis being laid especially on the restoration (d. e. f. g.), the martyrs (c) and the hope for the future (b). In fact the application of this version for that fast is so appropriate that it is usually said to have been composed by the Geonim for that occasion.

⁷ In his own time, he adds, it was said over learned and unlearned alike, as in our own day.

⁸ Abudarham without the paragraph **יהא שלמא** as also Carpentras. Modern Spanish without **תתקבל**.

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